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A PORTION OF THE BAS-RELIEFS AT CADYANDA.

John Murray, London. 1841

AN ACCOUNT

OF

DISCOVERIES IN LYCIA,

BEING

A JOURNAL KEPT DURING

A SECOND EXCURSION IN ASIA MINOR,

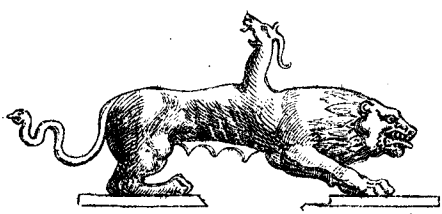
BY

E.3436.

CHARLES FELLOWS.

1840.

B951



LONDON:

JOHN MURRAY, ALBEMARLE STREET.

M.DCCC.XLI.

00083436

PRINTED BY RICHARD AND JOHN E. TAYLOR,
RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET.

PREFACE.

On my visit to Asia Minor in 1838, of which I gave an account in my former Journal, I found that the district of ancient Lycia was so rich in all that is most interesting to the traveller, that, my time then allowing of only a short excursion into it, I could not but feel a strong desire to return at a future day, and explore it more carefully.

This desire was increased when, on reaching England, I learned how completely unknown this country is to modern travellers, and how much importance the learned attached to many of my discoveries.

On my second visit therefore to Asia Minor, in 1840 (the account of which is given in the Journal now published), I determined to turn my steps at once to Lycia; and I have, as will be seen from the line of my route on the map, traversed it in several directions. The new

discoveries which I have made on this excursion, have richly rewarded me; and I am led to believe that the materials for the historian, the philologist, and the lover of art, which I have rescued from the ruins I visited, will be found of no inconsiderable value. The geographer will see that I have mapped the interior of the country, which hitherto has been unknown, and left blank in the maps: for the coast I am indebted to the admirable Survey of Captain Beaufort.

In this small province I have discovered the remains of eleven cities not denoted in any map, and of which I believe it was not known that any traces existed. These eleven, with Xanthus and Tlos described in my former Journal, and the eleven other cities along the coast visited by former travellers, make together twenty-four of the thirty-six cities mentioned by Pliny as having left remains still seen in his age. I also observed, and have noticed in my Journal, many other piles of ruins not included in the above numbers.

Many of the coins which I have found, and of which I give copies in the following pages, were before unknown to the numismatist, and others will enable him to assign place and date to coins in various museums, which have before been unexplained or erroneously attributed.

Of the beautiful sculptures and coloured bas-reliefs

found among the ruins, I have brought away numerous drawings, with which my Journal is illustrated.

Some of the inscriptions, of which I took copies on this tour, are of great value, as supplying a key to the hitherto unknown Lycian language, and others are important as bearing upon, and in some instances elucidating very curiously, questions of remote history.

To Mr. Hermann Wiener I have great pleasure in expressing my acknowledgments for his translations of the numerous Greek inscriptions which I copied; as I have to my friend Mr. Daniel Sharpe, for his paper on the Lycian inscriptions. I have also to thank Professor Don for kindly furnishing me with the names and classes of the plants which I collected, many of which he describes as of species hitherto unknown.

C. F.

London, April, 1841.

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John Murray, London 1841.

John Arrowsmith

LYCIA
by
Charles Fellows Esq.
The Authors Route in 1840 is colored Blue
Do. 1838 Red
Ancient ruins Do.
Part of the Taurus Range
Snow Mountains
Dædala M.
Calynda
Cadyanda
Hoozumlee
Karachewfurthers
Satala Coee
Bridge
Koongdar
Craguus ?
Horaba
Masicytus
CABALIA
Satala Yeellussy
Xanthus R.
Saarhan
Sarpedon R.
Glaucus Sinus
Glaucus R.
Makry
Telmessus
Levise
Cannydessus
Craguus M.
Dennelheer
Thos
Beover
Pinara
Mindra Coee
Yokylibyee
Kestep
Sidyma
Tcerisoorar
Gullenet
Islanu
Cydna
Xanthus
Xoonik
Xanthus R.
Patara
Xeniaguore Pr.
B. of Kalamaki
Kalamaki
Kodekich
Phellus
Saarer
Tcazeeryancoee
Antiphellus
Andifalo
Tcabala
Cassabar
Myra
Demre
Cyana
Apeæ
Kakava
Megiste
Kandhorizo
Extensive Plains above 4000 ft. high
Massicytus Mons
Snow
LIBERTIS
MILYAS
Eby Hissar Podalia ?
Alindee
Falls into Cavern
Avlan Goulub
Avlan
Solyma M.
Snow
Climax M.
Snow
Trona
Hasselis
Trona
GULF OF ADALIA
Olympus
Yanah Fol.
Corydalla ?
Arcanda
Arcanda R.
Tcerrycoee
Lanyra
Arbocliee
Bollintayee
Gagæ
Hagiavellee
Etheroo
Phinneka
Phinnekancoee
Phœnicus M.
Tcicoee
Tcangarry
Phinneka Bay
Sacrum Promn.
Chelidoniæ Pr.
MEDITERRANEAN SEA
English Miles
John Murray London 1841.
John Arrowsmith.

JOURNAL.

CHAPTER I.

Smyrna—Climate—Bazaars—Horses—Provisions—Ball—Road to Thera, the ancient Caystrus—Passage of the Mountains to Idin, the ancient Tralles—Tahir Pasha—his Museum—Inscriptions—Valley of the Mæander—Sultan Hissá—Soldiers—Antiocheia—the Valley of the Mosynus—Karasoo—to Yeerah, the ancient Aphrodisias.

Smyrna, February 14th, 1840.—When the Turkish peasant said, as I left this country a year and a half ago, "Mountains never meet, but men may," he expressed an idea of our again meeting, stronger than I entertained of renewing my visit to Asia Minor. Nothing but an earnest desire of knowing more of the highly interesting monuments found in this country, and of the natural features peculiar to it, together with the total absence of any published accounts whence I could obtain such information, would have induced me to wander thus far from the society of friends I so much value, and from the description of civilization to which an European is habituated. I have just left

Rome, where, in visiting its museums, which mark the ebbing and flowing of art from the earliest ages, I have wondered at the incomparable distance at which the works of the ancient Greeks stand, raised like the Acropolis of their cities, above the productions of all succeeding ages. How changed is Greece now!—for I look upon this country, in its earliest ages, as a part of Greece—the present inhabitants knowing nothing of its history, and being entirely ignorant of the arts which distinguished its former people from the rest of the world.

In this, now almost unknown part of ancient Greece, three of the seven Wise Men, in the early history of the world, had their birth*. Poetry, History, Fable, and Philosophy, had each their fathers in this country†. Among the wonders of the world, it boasted its Temple at Ephesus, its Mausoleum in Caria, and its Colossus at Rhodes. The finest work of art, the celebrated Venus, is attributed to this people. The most wealthy of kings‡, and the greatest of armies§, arose in this region, and their tumuli remain still undisturbed‖. The sites of its cities are unknown to us; and even the language of a considerable portion, abounding with inscriptions, has hitherto almost escaped the observation of the philologists of Europe. Impressed with this feeling, and attracted by the natural beauties of the

* Thales, Bias, and Pittacus.

† Homer, Herodotus, Æsop, and Pythagoras. ‡ Crœsus.

§ Xerxes' expedition. ‖ Of Alyattes at Sardis.

country, as well as by the hospitality of its inhabitants, I have returned hither to accumulate information and materials for future study.

Smyrna is at this season intensely cold, the distant hills are covered with snow, the wind blows keenly from the north-east, and the pools in the town are frozen over. English coal, which is amply supplied for the numerous steam-vessels, affords the comfort of a fire, as welcome here as on the coldest of our winter days in England.

February 26th.—This morning we had intended to quit Smyrna for the interior, but could not obtain horses; they are promised us for tomorrow morning by six o'clock. The Bazaars are to me always a pleasing lounge; the variety of trades, the novelty of the articles for sale, the busy scene among the camels and porters, contrasted with the composure of the shopkeeper, who, with his luxurious pipe in his hand, awaits patiently on his cushioned couch the call of a chance customer, offer ceaseless novelty to an European. By the assistance of my companion, Mr. Scharf, I hope to possess many sketches, to call to mind these scenes; but the harmonious cries of the traders, and the sonorous bells of the passing camels, can be retained only in the memory. The shops for the sale of eatables are very numerous, and mostly for dried fruits and sweetmeats. There are also many for the favourite food of the Turks, which is principally composed from the produce of the dairy. Among the most novel to me was a dish called Moha-

lahbee, a kind of blancmange, which is served in white plates, sifted over with sugar and sprinkled with rose-water; this hasty-pudding-like substance is made of rice-flour boiled in milk; it is semi-transparent, and in consistency like blancmange. Saloop is also much sold about the streets, as well as kymac, youghoort, and all kinds of curd, cream, and milk, flavoured with scents of various kinds. The total absence of shops for the sale of stimulants, of spirituous or fermented liquors, still continues a striking feature to an European.

Thursday, February 27th.—No horses came this morning as promised, and we waited until four in the afternoon before we could even be assured of obtaining them for tomorrow morning: these are to be hired horses, at the rate of one dollar (4*s.* 4*d.*) a day, and half a dollar for their return; even more than this was expected, and we have had to collect them from various small proprietors. We should not be able to obtain them from the Post, for which we are prepared with all the powers of a firman from Constantinople, for four days, several Governors being now detained awaiting the return of horses from other expeditions. The greatest inconvenience is now felt from the want of horses in Smyrna, where the supply is very limited, although a few years ago the town abounded with them; but the establishment of steam-vessels has superseded the more than daily lines of Tartars hence to Constantinople. Scarcely any horses are now kept for the service of the post, the ordinary demand being very trifling.

Another great pecuniary inconvenience has arisen since I was last here, but it will probably be temporary. Smyrna is now the market for the combined fleets of several nations, stationed in her gulph; at Vourlah are five English ships of war, and one here: the French have six, and the Austrian three, lying in front of the town of Smyrna; these bring an additional population of many thousand consumers. Meat, poultry, eggs, game, butter, and indeed all provisions, are four and five times the price they were two years ago. The charges at the inns are more than doubled, as well as the hire of horses for riding about the neighbourhood, in consequence of the demand occasioned by the officers of the navy. The appearance, and I fear the morals, of the "Frank town"—the designation of the quarter near the sea, which is occupied by Franks of all nations—are also much changed by the immense number of French sailors, who seem to be allowed to spend their days on shore: hundreds are each evening reeling into their crowded boats, and many, too much intoxicated to walk, are put on board by their less drunken mates. This irregularity has caused the total absence of our sailors from Smyrna; for a few weeks ago they resented an affront received from some French sailors, and, although double their own number, so severely treated them, that it was thought better they should not come again in contact while such disorder prevailed among the sailors of that nation. The Austrian seamen appear to be under much better discipline.

On Tuesday last, Prince Frederick of Austria gave the people of Smyrna a ball at their Casino, which was enlarged for the occasion by the erection of temporary rooms, formed of sails and flags, upon the terraces of the building. Everything was done by the prince most handsomely and liberally, but the Smyrnese want of taste and style was very apparent. The great redeeming feature was the elegance and splendour of the costumes of the ladies, who generally appeared in the Greek dress, which does not seem overloaded by the costly addition of jewels and embroidery; the wearers are also particularly good-looking. Among the Frank population, a study of dress is on all occasions a marked characteristic of the females of Smyrna. This must be observed by every passer through their streets: at every window and doorway is seen, at all hours of the day, a fully-dressed head, ornamented with flowers or jewels.

Determined not to delay the commencement of our expedition another day, I made arrangements for the men and eight horses to join us in the morning at Boojah, a village composed of houses of the Frank merchants, to which we walked, passing the Caravan Bridge at four o'clock, on Thursday the 27th of February. Instead of turning to the south-east or to the right hand, soon after crossing the bridge, we continued on the road which led eastward, lengthening our walk by passing through Cooklajah and over the mountain to Boojah, and enjoying the splendour of the view

of Smyrna and its lovely bay, carried into the mountains by the most luxuriant valleys. It was seven o'clock, and quite dark, before we arrived at the small inn recently opened by our landlord of the Navy Hotel at Smyrna.

Friday, February 28th.—Our horses arrived at eight o'clock, and we started, returning nearly half the way to Smyrna, to join the route leading up the valley toward the south-east, the same road as that to Ephesus. On our right lay the pretty village of Sideecooe, on our left that of Boojah: for many miles the country is scantily cultivated with mulberry-trees, but much of the land is capable of far greater produce; the alluvial soil of the valley is deep, and of a nature to grow excellent corn. The spring had scarcely as yet unfolded a single leaf; only a few anemones of various colours sparkled among the bushes, and one or two creeping plants* were blossoming on the winterly stems of the wild pear-tree.

By half-past twelve o'clock we had ridden six post hours, or about twenty-three miles, and arrived at Triandeer, a few huts on the bank of a river, which we had previously crossed about six miles from this place. We here learned that our baggage, which had kept the direct road from Smyrna, and which we fancied was before us, had not yet passed. We therefore waited an hour at the café, which, with an adjoining hut, frequently serves as a halting-place on the first day's

* *Clematis cirrhosa* (Evergreen Virgin's Bower).

journey towards Idin. Biendeer, the place of our destination for the evening, was still distant seven hours. About five miles on the way, the track lay through several Turkish burial-grounds, each containing remains of ancient sculptured marbles—columns, cornices, and squared stones; upon one was the following inscription:

MANTONIV
NICEPHORV
ΜΑΡΚΟΣΑΝΤΟΝΙΟΣ
ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΣ *

which could not have been moved far from its original site. Its first intention may have been to commemorate the course of a great conqueror; at present it marks the grave of some unknown Yourook, or herdsman, whose race occupy the black goats-hair tents scattered over the widely extended plains. The country for several hours before us was perfectly level, forming as it were an immense lake, bounded on the south by the long range of Mount Messogis, whose promontory (the ancient Trogilium), with its detached island of Samos, is concealed by the ranges of intervening hills rising behind the ancient Colophon and Teos in the west. To the east the range of Mount Tmolus rises, with its barren crags capped with snow. Perhaps no valley in the world would produce more than this if well cultivated. The quantity of olives grown on the sloping base of the mountains is very great, but the

* "Marcus Antonius Nicephoros."

rich plains are abandoned to the scattered sheep or goats, and in the more swampy parts the buffalo is seen wallowing in the marshes.

Before eight o'clock, after a ride of nearly fifty miles upon the same horses, we arrived at Biendeer, a town which seems only occupied in crushing the produce of the surrounding forest of olive-trees. The oil from this district ranks high in the Smyrna market; and this, as well as other articles of merchandize sold there, has within the last three years risen to four times the price formerly paid.

February 29th.—The situation of Biendeer, a large Turkish village with four minaretted mosques, is very beautiful, commanding a view of the wonderfully fine valley in which we travelled yesterday, and across which our road continues today, to the large town of Thera, about eleven miles distant, which is distinctly visible to the S.S.E. on the steep side of the Messogis mountain.

Saturday Evening.—I have just returned to my room in the picturesque Greek khan at Thera. What a country we have passed through today!—teeming with produce, and promising a still greater abundance to more active cultivation. For three or four miles before we crossed the river Caystrus, the plains were covered with the stems of last year's cotton plants, and the rich soil is again yielding to agricultural implements* of the same form as those which tilled it more than two

* See Journal of 1838, pp. 70 and 333.

thousand years ago! while the seeds of another crop are scattered over it. Crossing the very considerable river by a newly built bridge, the land gradually rises, and is well cultivated with corn; and ascending still further up a slight range of rocky mounds, we found them covered with vines and in high cultivation. These continued, as we travelled over this undulating ground, until we arrived in front of the long and beautifully situated town of Thera, the minarets of whose mosques (of which we counted twenty-eight) are scattered over a range of nearly two miles.

This town, which occupies the site of the ancient Caystrus, is built on so steep an acclivity, that almost every house is visible, peering above its neighbour's roof; the cypress and plane, of splendid growth, enrich the whole extent of the place. In the streets, as is often the case in Turkish towns, are rapid streams of water, up which we rode, and crossed several well-stored bazaars. The most striking articles exposed for sale were the largest grapes I ever saw; these are grown in the neighbourhood in great quantities, for the making of raisins, which, from being sent to the port of Smyrna, acquire the name well known in our shops of Smyrna raisins: each grape is as large as a nutmeg, and on sending a man with a piastre and a half (not quite 3½*d.*), to purchase some for us, he returned with two okes and a half—about seven pounds weight. Each bunch is plaited with a cord of rushes, and in the manufacture of raisins these strings of fruit are dipped into boiling

water several times, and then hung up in cool cellars for three months; when taken down they are fit for the market.

Our whole route from Smyrna has been crossing or following valleys; no hill, excepting a slight rise out of the town of Smyrna, has interrupted our course. In this tract the geologist finds little to interest him; the soil is alluvial, and generally mixed with stones, the debris of the neighbouring mountains, which vary from the simple marble limestone to the tortuous slaty stone, shivered by volcanic heat, and glittering with schisty micaceous particles. The castle hill, near Smyrna, is an igneous rock of spurious granite; several tracks of bare rock on the valley are composed of massed pebbles or pudding-stone, probably of recent formation. The soil is generally light, but near the immediate valley of the Caystrus it is a simple sand, of considerable depth, with scarcely a pebble. Thera stands on a range of mountain limestone, much baked and distorted by volcanic powers, and frequently veined with a crystallized white marble or quartz-like substance, often tinged with ferruginous colouring. I have added several plants to my collection, but none strike me as peculiar to this district. I see the black Iris in the turbans and hands of the peasants, but have not yet gathered it myself; the Christ's-thorn and a kind of broom, form the bushy tufts of the country.

On Sunday, the 1st of March, we started at nine o'clock for Idin; our cavalcade consisted of two Zoo-

rigees, men who have the charge of the horses and the three loads of baggage. I followed, with my friends Mr. Hesketh and Mr. Scharf, attended by Pagniotti Mania, as servant and dragoman*; and in the rear was a Kezann, or officer of the police, well mounted and superbly armed. This addition to our train was insisted upon by the Governor as a guard of honour: I wished to decline it as unnecessary, but he said that the roads were in a dangerous state, (meaning from the late rains, I believe,) and that we had better have assistance in case of need. Thus, with ten horses, we commenced our route up the narrow streets, which are so steep that many literally rise in steps. On arriving a little above the town we paused, as such trains are often obliged to do, to re-arrange the baggage.

From this point we had a fine view of this curiously situated and extensive city; its position is highly picturesque, and resembles the other ancient sites now occupied by the modern towns of Manser and Kootáya; they all face the north. Although this is doubtless the site of Caystrus, scarcely a trace of the ancient city is to be found; a few columns and capitals of white marble, built into the walls, are all that remain to tell of the former important city. An ascent through

* Pagniotti Mania was an honest and industrious servant, and well acquainted with the habits and requirements of the English, having been several years cook on board the Tribune ship of war, as well as in English families.

woods of olive-trees showed another abundant source of wealth to this people, so highly favoured by nature.

Our route lay directly to the south, and we breasted the steep ascent most boldly. I have never, excepting on this same range, in the pass from the ancient Priene over the Trogilium promontory, ascended so steep a track; in many instances we were obliged to tack at every twenty yards, doubling our own course; affording those in the rear a collective view of our diversified cavalcade, all in slow motion, and shifting as the objects in a kaleidescope. One of our party, dismounting to collect some plants, had left his horse to keep its place in the train; but cutting across an angle in the road, it thrust itself between the baggage-horses, which were connected by cords: this checked them, and as the narrow grip worn in the rock was scarcely wide enough for their feet to pass each other, they all stumbled, and fell in confusion. My experience told me that our progress was stayed for fully an hour. Our Turk Kezann was also aware of this, for he immediately dismounted, and, sitting on the rock, prepared his pipe for an hour's repose and meditation on the interruption. The poor animals were unloaded, and with difficulty lifted up; a few cuts, and slight exhaustion from struggling, were all the ill effects beside the delay. During our detention we were passed by a Turkish family travelling towards Idin: the female of the party afforded the annexed subject for the pencil.

Two hours of uninterrupted ascent brought us to the summit of this splendid range of mountains. Turning to the north-west, to review our route, we saw the hills of Smyrna over the uninterrupted level of the valleys we had crossed. On our right lay the fine range of Mount Tmolus, partially concealing Mount Sipylus at its western extremity, and between these ranges lay Sardis and Philadelphia. On our left rose the high mountains at the back of Colophon and Teos, and still nearer were the hills concealing the ancient and renowned city of Ephesus. Immediately below lay the productive valley down which winds the river Caystrus, circling the hills and finding its way to the sea in front of Ephesus. Icicles were around us, and snow covered the higher peaks on either side of our pass. The

mountain is composed entirely of a slaty schist, veined with a quartz-like substance, at times almost of an agaty semi-transparent stone, the whole much contorted and shivered with volcanic heat.

Two hours of rapid descent brought us within sight of a point that highly interested me. We were travelling along ridges of mountains so perfectly hog-backed, that a stone dropped from either hand would have rolled into different valleys; from these abrupt elevations the whole nature of the country was visible. On the soil which clothed the hills upon which we stood, and which we had traversed, not a green leaf was seen, unless olives may be called green; the chestnut and dwarf-oak trees were brown with the dead leaves of last year; all others were grey with the naked branches of winter. About two miles before us appeared a distinct line marked with a slight valley, cut by the increasing stream from the mountains, beyond which all was green; and the red, broken and rotten-looking cliffs, seen through the woods of fir-trees, at once reminded me of the peculiarity I had noticed in the hills lining and flanking the mountains on the northern side of the valley of the Mæander. I now discovered that this mass of deposited gravel and sand formed a belt of at least ten miles in width. As we approached, we saw that it had the other peculiarities of being cavernous, and varying in its colours and component parts.

Continuing our passage of the mountain towards the south, we arrived at a comparatively level road, which

we followed eastward to the town of Idin. The whole distance from Thera can only be reckoned by time, and the journey took us eight hours, two hours of ascent and six hours of descent, and this necessarily at a very slow pace. The geological peculiarities did not engage my attention sufficiently to prevent my admiration of the splendid scenery, which we should have enjoyed more had daylight continued longer; but evening closed upon us before we arrived at Idin at seven o'clock. I today recognised the clear and sonorous chirp of the Bee-eater hovering over the fir-trees, and the sweet song of the Bunting*; several of the small white vultures were also soaring high above our heads.

March 2nd.—Idin is at present like a large builder's yard; almost the whole of the bazaars are rebuilding, and scarcely a street is passable. I have spoken in my former Journal of the town; it has lost much of its beauty by the difference of season, as the numerous trees in the streets are now without their leaves. I have seen more of its antiquities, which chiefly consist of the various marbles and coins found daily upon the hill overhanging the present town, and upon which stood the ancient Tralles; the most conspicuous building that now remains is the ruin of the Palæstra or Gymnasium. I have before noticed this as having materials of much older buildings worked up in its formation, several of which have inscriptions in the

* *Emberiza melanocephala* (Blackheaded Bunting).

Greek language. This morning, with the aid of a telescope and with considerable difficulty, I copied the following, which is high up in the building. I fear it is too imperfect to be of service.

Γ///ΚΑ///
ΜΗϹΕΝΜΑΥΛ///ΛΡΕϹΓΟΝ
ΒΟΥΛΑΡΚΗΕΝΝΤΛΑΓΟΡΑΝΟΜΗ
ΕΑΝΤΑΕΙΡΒΝΜϹΝϹΑΝϹΑϹΤ
ΤΗ̄ΗϹΑΝΓΑΙΚΑΠΡΟΤΙ///
ΑLΑΓΟΝΙΙ///ΥΙΑΝΓΑ
ΗΕΝΟΜ—ΝϹΙΙΓϹΝΕΟΔΙΩΗΜ///
ΝΙΟΝ///ΤΛϹΙΚΡΑΤΙΑΒΟΥΛΗ
ΡΛΝΤΙϹΕϹΤΙΝΜΠΕΓΕΙΤΙΟΥΟΥΓΓΝ

ΠΡΟΝΟΗϹΜΕΝΟΥΤΗΕΑΝΑϹΤΑϹΕ
ΟϹΤΟΥΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΟϹΜΑΥΡΓΩΓΗΡΙ
ΧΟΥΤΟΥΥΙΟΥΑΥΤΟΥΒΟΥΛΗϹΔΗ
ΜΟΥΓΕΡΟΥϹΙΑϹΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΕΟΓ *

At Smyrna I had heard much of the statues discovered and preserved by Tahir Pasha, and of persons

* The four last lines inform us, that M. Aurel. Gogerichus [Sotericus ?], a Secretary to the Council, the People and the Gerusia, superintended the erection of a statue in honour of his father, whose name, according to the second line, seems to be M. Aurel. Arestus. The first part of the inscription mentions the honorary decree of the Council and the People, and then follow doubtless some of the titles, which appear in two other Trallian inscriptions published by Colonel Leake (Diary, pp. 339. 340). We can distinguish those of Bularches (President of the Council ?), Agoranomos (Superintendent of Markets, like the Aedilis of the Romans), Eirenarches and Strategos (Prætor or President).

who had travelled thence to see them: how strange it seems that such specimens as the following should alone be prized, when the country is rich in the works of the ancient Greeks! Upon two marble blocks, apparently pedestals, which are now built into the wall on either side of the entrance to the Pasha's house, are bas-reliefs of a low age, probably Byzantine, or perhaps as late as the Crusades: they each have a superscription.

ΟΠΥΚΙΕΙΣΑΙΙΟΜΑΚΙΣΕΙ-
ΙΘΜΥΑΔΒΕΝΟΥΔΕΙΣΜΟΙΡΑ
ΙΕΠΕΠΡΟΤΟΓΑΡΟΥΤΩΣΕ
ΑΛΑΜΑΙΣΙΝΕΜΕΝΝΕΚΥΝ
ΝΘΑΤΑΦΗΝΑΙ

On the other side of the door is a somewhat similar pedestal, with this inscription:

ΟΙΓΑΝΝΕΙΚΗCACΛΛΕΝΙ//
ΔΕΜΟΙΡΑΚΡΑΤΑΙΗΗΓΑΓΕ
ΝΚΑΙΝΥΝΤΥΝΒΥCΙΠΡΟΚΕΙΜΑΙΕCΧΤΕ
ΒΙΟΤΟΥΧΕΙΡCΙΝΦΟΝΙΑΙCΑΜΑΡΑΝΤΟ *

These were found only a few months ago, as well as several broken statues, which are preserved with great care by the Pasha, who is anxious to acquire the European taste for such things; at present a well sculptured eagle, which has lost its own head, is supplied with that of a female figure. Beneath the eagle is the following inscription:

ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΣΟΡΘΙ//
ΟΣΘΕΩΔΙΙΕΥΧΑ
ΙΣΤΩΝΤΟΥΤΟΥΣ
ΔΥΑΕΤΟΥΣΑΝΕ
ΘΗΚΕ †

The whole of the antiquities found here are of a base Roman age: the coins are very numerous, but among

* The little we can make out in these two inscriptions, which seem in some way to correspond with each other, shows that they were consecrated to the honour of warriors, or a warrior "conquered by fate," and perhaps buried near the spot. Judging from the last lines, they were written in hexameters; in the second inscription we may trace several verses, not altogether unintelligible, but are unable to connect them.

† *Translation.*—"Diogenes Orthios has gratefully consecrated these two eagles to the god Jupiter."

hundreds brought to me I have not seen one of the ancient Greek: they are generally of the Byzantine empire, and have monograms and effigies of saints upon them.

I fear I have been rude to the Pasha, but his too great attention almost merits the same charge. My object for travelling is to see the people and the country, its natural history, and its remains of ancient art, and not to waste time and money in visiting the higher classes, whose attempts to act the European rather disgust than amuse. I was told by my Smyrnese friends that I must take a letter of introduction to Tahir Pasha, as he was one of the most powerful and enlightened men in the country—an excellent fellow, who speaks Italian, drinks champagne, smokes cigars, dances, and wears white-kid gloves! I explained, that to pay a visit to him would not accord with my plans, for, as a traveller, my time was limited and my wardrobe scanty, and I received the letter without any intention of using it; notwithstanding this, I found that my arrival had been anticipated by the Pasha, and on my applying for horses to leave the town, he sent word that he had been expecting me some days, and that I must come and stay with him. I returned an answer, regretting that my haste in passing through the town would prevent my doing myself that honour, and sent many civil acknowledgments for his kindness; he again sent to beg me to come to him, but I was from home. The servant asked for horses, but the Pasha told him that no answer would be given

until the next day, evidently wishing to detain me; observing at the same time, that English lords and great princes had visited him, and that I ought to come to stay at his palace; but I much preferred our humble but independent khan. During his absence from the palace, I went up and saw his few relics in the garden, and left my thanks and apologies for not calling upon his Excellency, adding as my excuse that I had no costume fit to wear in his presence. About eighty piastres were greedily swallowed by the begging servants on this occasion. After detaining us for want of an order for horses until two o'clock the following day, we at last made an escape without a visit of form.

March 3rd.—The day being so far spent, we have only journeyed twelve miles, to the small village of Keosk, where I copied from a pedestal in the burial-ground the following inscription:

ΝΕΡΟ//ΑΝ//Λ//ΔΙΟΝ
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΝ
ΙΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΑ^ΘΕΟΝ
//ΩΝΚΑΩΙΕΡΩΣΕ
//ΑΤΟ
Ο//ΟΥΠΛΑ//ΙΑΟΚΑΠΟΥΑΝΙ//ΝΙΟΥ
ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΘΕΝΤΟΣ//
ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥΝΕΡΟΝΟΣΟΥΣ
ΓΚΥΡΕΙΝ//ΙΕΒΟΚΛΕΟΥΟΦΙΛΟΡΜΣΔΣΟΣ
ΑΓΝΟΥ ΥΙΟΥΠΟΛΕΟΣ >——< *

* We can decipher only the three first and the four last lines with certainty. In the fourth there was probably the name of the corporation

On the evening of the 4th we proceeded eight miles, to Sultan Hissá, which lies about a mile on the left of the road: leaving the horses at the village, we walked about two miles further up the hill, to examine the ruins of an ancient city, supposed to be Nysa, a mile above which lies the modern village of Esky Hissá. The ruins are interesting; they show distinctly the form of a theatre, facing the south; and many of the seats, with overhanging mouldings, still remain. The theatre, as well as the general situation of the city, is a striking instance of the selection by the ancient Greeks of a site for their theatres commanding extensive and beautiful views.

The prospect was here exquisite: in front, on either hand, stood the ornamental buildings of the city, forming a vista which embraced a view of richly-wooded hills, divided by rapid streams, hastening to a valley unrivalled in luxuriant vegetation. Through this runs the "winding Mæander," visible for upwards of fifty miles, and making as many curves in its meandering course.

who "consecrated [the statue of] Nero Claudius Augustus Germanicus, the Emperor and God." This is the emperor known to us by the name of Nero, who, like many others, was in his lifetime styled God by Grecian flattery. In the last lines are the names of Tiberius Claudius Nero, being however not those of the emperor, but of the person who "superintended the erection—Hierocles, the son of Philormas [or Philoromaeus], belonging to the Roman tribus Quirina, and an honourable son of the city," *i. e.* presented, as it were by adoption, with its freedom.

The whole of the scene is bounded by the mountains of Caria, many at this time capped with snow. A stream originally ran through an arched passage under the theatre, and another building, probably a stadium, in front; but much of this subterranean course had fallen in, rendering the broken arch and walls on either side an accumulated mass of ruins. I found but one inscription, and that was in the village below, of which the following is a copy:

ΑΙΛΙΟΝΙΟΥΛΙΟΝΠΡC
ΕΥΒΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΝΥΠΑΤΙ
ΚΑΙCΥΝΚΛΗΤΙΚΩΝCΥΠ
ΑΙΛΙΑΦΛΑΒΙΑΕΓΝΑΤ
ΚΑΠΕΤΩΛΕΙΝΑ
ΗΑΞΙΟΛΟΓΩΤΑΤΗ
ΤΟΝΕΑΥΤΗCCΥΝΒΙC *

From Sultan Hissá, called by the Greeks Heliopolis, we rode for twelve miles to Naslee, the whole country from Idin being a continued succession of orchards and fields of corn. The soil is light, and the roads are perfectly flat: for many miles they serve as the courses for the water drawn off from the mountain-streams for the purposes of irrigation. Scarcely a quarter of a mile in the whole distance is without some wrought stone

* *Translation.*—"Aelia Flavia Egnatia Capitolina, the most illustrious [erects this to the memory of] Aelius Julius ..... Eubulianus [?] of a consular and senatorial family, her husband."

of a former age; hundreds of capitals and bases of columns have been converted into well-copings and troughs. Some few appeared of fine workmanship, but the greater number are of a low Roman age.

March 6th.—We were detained the whole of yesterday hourly waiting for horses; for the establishment of the Post had been drained for the use of some soldiers on their way to Constantinople. It is to be regretted that these naturally peaceable people should not attend more to the cultivation of their country, instead of so industriously learning of the Europeans their vices and arts of war. I have already seen three Turks intoxicated, and, with their bottle in hand, still asking for arrack.

I observed several young soldiers idling about the village: their costume is worn in a most unbecoming manner; they are dressed in children's short-waisted jackets, of various colours, but mostly grey; they have no stocks or shirts, and the white lining of their red fezes is pulled over their ears; the trousers, which are the peculiar pride of the modernized Turk, are of white, but often so wide in the waist that they drag, and hang loosely round the loins; the boots, which are yellow, generally dirty, and trodden down at heel, are intended to be worn as our Wellington boots; but the Turks always push the loose bottoms of their trousers into them, and walk in their customary slipshod way: the legs also have too long been accustomed to bend outward at the knee, in the sitting posture of the Turk, to

straighten themselves at the word of command. The pay to these training-soldiers, who are ever at command, and devote one day in each week to drill, is twenty-five piastres (4*s.* 8*d.*) a month, and a ration of half an oke of bread (nearly a pound and a half), worth half a piastre ($1\frac{1}{8}$*d.*), a day: additional clothes are given when the recruit joins the army at Constantinople.

There has been a great market or fair here, and the busy scene was highly amusing; but from the excessive dirt of the streets, increased by the heavy rains, which wetted us through before our arrival last evening, we could not half enjoy the bustle. While standing amidst the crowd, I copied an inscription from a sarcophagus, ornamented with wreaths and Apollo-like heads, but of a low style of sculpture.

ΚΙΣΛΕΙΛΙΑΤΑΥΤΙ<>ΣΣΠΙΓΡΑΦΗΕΑΝΠΓΡΑΡΟΚΑΤΕΟΣ
Ν<>ΝΙΣΤΑΑΙΧΒΙΑΕΙΠΣΤΦΑΝΥΥΟΥΚΛΑΛΣΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ
ΤΟΙΖΝΟΣΠΑΝΙ<>ΜΟΥ<>ΙΒ *

In the afternoon we rambled in search of a clean walk, down the lanes to a village of the same name

* *Translation.*—"A copy of this inscription has been deposited in the archives, under the Stephanephorus, Claudius Alexander, on the twelfth day of the month Panemus."

These are the last lines of the usual sarcophagus inscription; those preceding contained the names of the persons buried, and were probably cut upon the lid, which has been removed. The month of Panemus was both in the Macedonian and Ephesian almanacks, and in the latter began on the 24th of May.

as this, in which the Aga resides. Naslee bears an additional name, indicating its being the mercantile town. The sun shone brightly, and its warmth made the banks by the way-side interesting to the naturalist. The early spring flowers were just bursting, and I added the crocus, hyacinth, heart's-ease and many others to my collection*. Among the fresh green weeds basked a small chameleon; we watched it, and handled it in its green retreat. The peculiarities of this little creature were novel to some of our party. I therefore took it into my hand, to show them the revolving motion of the eye; its colour was then a bright yellow green; gradually it burst out in blotches of grey, giving a dull appearance to the whole body. I then placed it on the dark-coloured earth, and in a few seconds its colour was entirely grey, the remaining yellow spots becoming gradually indistinct. On the grass it soon recovered its primitive hue, and we left it crawling clumsily among the weeds on the sunny bank. A few steps further, one of the beautiful green lizards lay basking, but its quick eye saw us, and with the nervous rapidity so peculiar to it, it sheltered itself among the dead reeds. I was surprised to see a frog also enjoying the sun, avoiding the water, and sitting on the sandy bank: its colour is of the lightest and brightest green, and it is of a kind I have never seen in

* A list of the plants which I collected during my tour will be given in the Appendix.

Europe. The cimex, and many others of the insect tribe, are adding their happiness to the joys of the season. The birds were not numerous; several varieties of hawks were sailing about or hovering over their prey; and the favoured storks were flying with sticks to add to their last year's nests, which had remained undisturbed on the chimneys, mosques, or baths of their protector the Turk.

From a broken column I also copied the following inscription:

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑ//ΤΟΡΑ
ΟΥΕΣΠΑΙ//ΙΑΝΟ
ΟΑΗΝΟΓΣΙ//
//ΚΑ//ΙΕΡ *

Yehnejah, March 6th.—It was 11 o'clock this morning before we could get horses, which has caused us to halt here after a ride of six hours. The direct distance is not more than eighteen or twenty miles, but we have gone out of our way to visit the ruins of what is thought to be the ancient Antiocheia; its situation upon an isolated rock, rising in the centre of the mouth of the valley of the Mosynus, and commanding a view of that of the Mæander, is worthy of the ancient Greeks; but the ruins now covering and undermining its summit are not equal to any works attributed to the worst

* "The Emperor Vespasianus. The People . . . . . has consecrated it,"—*i. e.* his statue, which may have been on the column.

age of the Romans; with the exception of the numerous arches under the ground, the whole is built of loose stones, as picked up from the mountain. I should say that the city, if it has been one, bears the appearance of having been a camp hastily fortified by a powerful people; cement is used in some places, but the walls are mostly packed together with loose stones of a small size, all unwrought. I saw but eight or ten squared stones in the whole place; one fragment of a fluted column of white marble stood a solitary work of art. The ancient river Mosynus is spread over a wide expanse towards the west, which we forded, fearing the muddy swamps more than the depth of the water, which scarcely reached to the knees of our horses.

On leaving Naslee, we travelled up the valley for two hours, nearly to the town of Goojak; then turning off the road, towards the south, we soon found a few huts, forming the village of Andaluh, near the wooden bridge crossing the Mæander; about a mile further, on the southern banks, stands the village of Birlehbay. Travelling for two hours to the eastward, and turning up the valley of the Mosynus to the south, we passed a pretty little woody village called Arráchiflee; from this place the country is rendered unfit for cultivation by the stones and masses of rock rolled down from the schisty slaty mountains forming the western boundary of the valley of the Mosynus. The road from Yehnejah to Karasoo passes for about twelve miles over an unpro-

ductive but highly picturesque country. The Spring is not stirring, and the wind from the east is rendered still more cold by passing over the snows of Mount Cadmus.

The hills which vary the road up this valley are of a curious composition; on the surface the stones are so numerous that the plough is not used; the beautiful stone-pine and tufts of underwood are almost the only produce, and beneath the surface the hills are formed of broken and generally washed or rolled stones, held slightly together by a white limy-looking substance, which appears slacked and crumbling in pieces; this is occasionally stratified, and then shows layers of a hard flinty kind of opake clay, somewhat resembling the singular layers of chalcedony that I have seen in Phrygia. These hills, from the nature of their composition, are gradually washed away by the mountain-streams, and deep ravines intersect the valley in all directions. These ravines afford a beautiful variety of luxuriant vegetation; the oleander, pomegranate, vine and plane, are in the summer contrasted with the dark green pines on the cliffs above.

March 7th.—Karasoo is a large straggling Turkish village, with more than usual activity, from the various trades of the potter, the dyer and bleacher, which seem to be carried on upon every open space in the town. Streams of excellent water, as usual, run through almost every street; but here a clear stream with its deep ravine divides the town, and forms an important tribu-

tary to the Mosynus, which has its course in the valley about two miles below the town. The name of Karasoo, meaning 'black water,' is probably given from the appearance of the water in the shadowed ravine, contrasted with the red or white muddy colour of the water of the Mæander or Lycus. Coins and gems of a late Greek age, and down almost to the time of the Crusades, are offered here abundantly for sale, and are all obtained from the neighbourhood of Yeerah, the ancient Aphrodisias, about eight miles distant, which city was our attraction in visiting this district; but the difficulty of obtaining horses in these small places detains us here until tomorrow.

Sunday, March 8th.—In traversing the extended valley, which at a distance appeared an immense plain, wherein are collected the waters of the Mosynus, we found it varied with considerable hills and very deeply cut dells, formed by the numerous streams. These streams have their mills with overshot wheels, and are shadowed by the enormous arms of the spreading plane-trees: around them is a tract of land generally well cultivated, the whole forming a pleasing variety in this too neglected district. We arrived at Aphrodisias before noon, approaching the city through the district of its tombs: sarcophagi marked the road for the last mile; and as we entered the gate, so much of interest met the eye, that we determined to remain here some days.

The present state of the village is most ruinous;

twenty only out of about a hundred huts are occupied, all the others being inhabited by owls; the sociable crane seems to have deserted the bundle of sticks piled upon the ruined houses, and a few solitary birds stand, like monuments of melancholy, on the chimneys of their protectors' huts. I hear that there are still two hundred people, including women and children, in the village and neighbourhood, but I have seen scarcely an individual amongst the masses of ruins forming the streets.

CHAPTER II.

The ancient Aphrodisias—Temple of Venus—Pagan Age—Christian Age—Present State—Sarcophagi—Natural History—Karasoo—Arrival of the New Firman or Code of Laws—Consequent Changes—Return to the Valley of the Mæander—the River Harpasus—Passage of the Mountains—Valley of the Marsyas.

Aphrodisias, March 10*th.*—We have taken possession of a house once attached to that of the Aga, which forms a picturesque object from our window; its owner has for some years left it to decay. I must endeavour to describe in some degree the interesting objects that detain us here. Aphrodisias lies to the east of the head of the valley which gives rise to the Mosynus, and is beautifully bounded by mountains of considerable importance. Cadmus rises majestically on the east, while the distant summits of Mount Tmolus towering above the range of Messogis, are seen in the north: the elevation of the city above the sea is about a thousand feet, the air healthy and cool, and the water excellent. I see no river or stream, but the old fountains are supplied from distant sources in the hills.

Aphrodisias is not in appearance the site of an an-

cient Greek city; it lies low, and its principal buildings are not, as usual, elevated above the rest of the town. It is difficult to describe the ruins of this city; I never saw in one place so many perfect remains, although by no means of a good age of the arts. The opinion I shall venture to give is founded wholly upon my observation of the ruins as they exist, in perfect ignorance of any historical accounts. I have copied many of the inscriptions, and hope to increase my knowledge by their after-examination.

On this site I see no trace either of the position, grandeur of design, or hard style of sculpture, accompanied with the beauty of simplicity, which so peculiarly mark the cities of the early Greeks. In much of the material of the temple, and perhaps in the arrangement of many of its columns, may be traced a city probably of a date two centuries before the Christian æra: its stadium on the north side of the city is still magnificent, running from east to west, and having both ends circular; most of its seats are still remaining, and in itself this building alone would repay the trouble of a visit to this city. On the south side is a small hill, artificially formed, probably to contain a theatre, the ruins of which face the south-east; a few foundations would lead us to suppose that temples may have ornamented this little acropolis. In the centre of the city stood a beautiful Ionic temple; fifteen of its white, marble, fluted columns are still standing, and some have tablets left uncut where the shaft was fluted, telling by

their inscriptions that they were offerings to the temple of Venus or Aphrodite, the goddess to whom the city was dedicated.

ΕΥΜΑΧΟΣΑΘΗΝΑ
ΓΟΡΟΥΤΟΥΑΘΗΝΑΓΟ
ΡΟΥΤΟΥΕΥΜΑΧΟΥΔΙ
ΟΓΕΝΗΣΦΙΛΟΚΑΙΣΑΡ
ΚΑΙΑΜΜΙΑΣΔΙΟΝΥΣΙ
ΟΥΦΥΣΙΔΕΑΔΡΑΣΤΟΥ
ΤΟΥΜΟΛΩΝΟΣΟΛΥΝ
ΠΙΑΣΤΟΝΚΙΟΝΑΘΕΑ
ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗΚΑΙΤΩ
ΔΗΜΩ *

These stand, I doubt not, upon their original bases, although from their reversed tablets, the irregular joining of the flutes, and several other points, I judge that they have been thrown down and afterwards piled up in their present form.

Many other remains, showing different orders of architecture, in columns and friezes, attest, without doubt, the existence of numerous temples, and indicate a beautiful city built wholly of white marble, large blocks of which are found in all parts of the ruins, many measuring

* *Translation.*—" Eumachus Diogenes Philocæsar, the son of Athenagoras, the son of Athenagoras, the son of Eumachus; and Ammias Olympias, the [adopted] daughter of Dionysius, but by birth that of Adrastus, the son of Molon; [give] this column to the goddess Aphrodite and to the People."

nine or ten feet in length. Slabs, probably from the cellas of temples, covered with inscriptions, are used as material to a very great extent. I copied inscriptions from upwards of fifty of these, all of an age perhaps one or two centuries before our æra. The sarcophagi, which extend half a mile to the west, must also rank with this state of the city. A few Greek coins are found in the ruins, but they are very scarce.

My next description carries us to an age probably two or three centuries subsequent to the Christian æra. The whole of the temples and public buildings, excepting only the stadium (which, by a wall built across it near the circular end, seems to have been converted into an amphitheatre) must have been demolished; for a city arose surrounded by walls two miles in circuit, with gates of triple arches to the west, east, and south: these walls are composed of the remains of temples, tombs, and theatres, removed, although uninjured. The reversed inscriptions and inverted bas-reliefs bear testimony to the change; and the beautiful cornices of Greek Pagan temples are now rudely carved with inscriptions, and placed over the gateways, recording the changed religion and the age in which they were piled up. Even the Pagan name of the city was changed, for in the following inscription it appears to be called Tauropolis.

ΦΛΚΩϹΤΑΝΤΙΟΝΤΟΝΛΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΟΝΗΓΕΜΟΝΗΒ
ΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟϹΜΕΤΑΤΩΝΑΛΛΩΝΕΡΓΩΝΚΑΙΤΟ
ΤΕΙΧΟϹΑΝΑϹΤΗϹΑΝΤΑ✠ ΕΠΙΕΥΤΥΧΙΑΤΗϹΛΑΜΠΡ

ΑΣ ΤΑΥΡΟΥΠΟΛΙΤΩΝΜΗΤΡΟΠΚΑΙΤΟΥΤΟΤΟΕΡΓΟ
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ΛΟΓΙΜΣΧΚΠΑΤΡΟΣΙΝΔΗ ✠ *

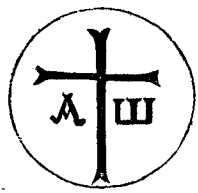
The Cross, with the alpha and omega, and other mo-

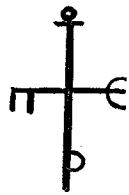
* "The Senate and the People honoured [probably by erecting a statue] the most splendid Flavius Constantius, who, among other works, also rebuilt the wall. For the welfare of the splendid metropolis of the Taurupolitans, the works also about the gate were repaired under Flavius Ampelius, the most distinguished lawyer, and father [of the corporation, viz. its representative in legal affairs], in the eighth year of the Indiction."

Given by Boeckh, 2746.

The date of the latter inscription we cannot fix, although Francke, who, as we are informed by Boeckh, has very well explained it, thought it was the year A.D. 349–350. The Indictions we know to have begun A.D. 313; but there is nothing to show how many of them elapsed before the one in the eighth year of which Ampelius repaired the gate of Aphrodisias-Tauropolis. The name of Tauropolis, which we see in this and other inscriptions, is also mentioned by Stephanus Byzantinus in connection with Aphrodisias, or rather with Plarasa, a district which formed part of the town. It is uncertain which of these names was the original one; certainly, in Pagan times, when the town derived a great income and celebrity from the festivals in its far-famed temple of Aphrodite, the name of Aphrodisias prevailed, which to the Christians was an indecent one; they therefore altered it to *Taurupolis*, a name which afterwards was changed by some Christian authors into Σταυρούπολις, i. e. the city of the Cross; from the space preceding the name, this may have been the case in ours. When, after the time of the above inscription, the festivals of Venus at Aphrodisias, by the exertions of Asclepiodotus Alexandrinus, came again into celebrity (towards the end of the fifth century), the name of Aphrodisias re-appears.

nograms used by the early Christians, are the emblems over the gates. Sarcophagi within the walls tell the





end of many of the wealthy Christian inhabitants; and others are registered upon the bases and columns of temples which were afterwards used to support Christian churches; the title of archdeacon is sculptured in large letters on the fragment of a frieze. In this age the temple of Venus must have undergone great change. I have said that the columns are still standing, and from their proportion, distance and form, I doubt not upon their original bases—but how changed! The cella has wholly vanished from the interior of the colonnade; and many of the slabs of marble inscribed with the affairs of the city, each bordered or grooved as those I have seen at Nicæa, are now built into the walls surrounding the Byzantine city. A circular end is constructed of rude stones, closing the east, probably for an altar, where formerly the sun rose on the portico of the pagan temple. Surrounding the whole of this building, are traces of walls of the same rude workmanship, in which cement was the main support of the construc-

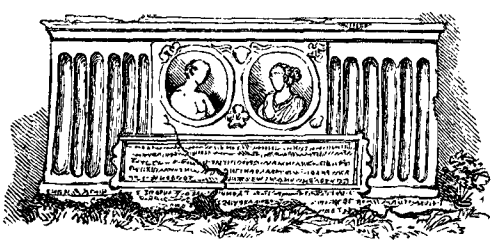
tion; and in this line there are still standing several jambs of door-ways, of mean proportion as compared with the old temple; on these appear Christian emblems and inscriptions. The outer colonnade of the Temple of Venus must then have served to form a support to the larger Christian church: at present all is in confused but undecayed ruin. Surrounding this chief church are several other columns, in pairs, supporting architraves of pretty proportions, but perfectly eclipsed by the comparatively gigantic temple of the goddess, whose simple fluted shafts of Greek workmanship display a beauty not discoverable in the circularly surrounding flutes and laboured ornaments of its diminutive Byzantine neighbour. Two large tazze, or fonts, ten feet in diameter, and a sitting lion, lie broken among the ruins: I know not to which age these belong.

The walls of the town, in their present decay, show better the extent of depredation and size of the former city than any other remains; it is equally a study for the lover of art, of history, or of morality. The coins found are very numerous, but most of those I saw were of the Byzantine age, and many with Roman inscriptions. I have selected some, upon which is the name of this city, Aphrodisias, and others of Plarasa, together with coins of the neighbouring cities of Laodiceia, Philadelphia and Antiocheia, and a few of the early kings of Caria, in silver, which were exceptions to the general late age of the many brought by the industrious inhabitants of this remnant of a village.

I copied the following inscription, which seems intended to commemorate a priestess :—

ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣΕΤΕΙ
ΜΗΣΑΝΚΑΙΜΕΤΗΛΛΑΧΥΙ
ΑΝΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΝΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥΑΠΟΛ
ΛΩΝΙΟΥΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ
ΤΡΥΦΩΣΑΝΠΑΥΛΕΙΝΑΝΑΡΧΙ
ΕΡΙΑΝΔΙΑΤΕΤΗΝΤΟΥΠΑΤΡΟ[Σ]
ΚΑΙΤΩΝΠΡΟΓΟΝΩΝΑΥΤΗΣΕΙΣ
ΤΗΝΠΑΤΡΙΔΑΕΝΠΑΣΙΦΙΛΟΤΕΙ
ΜΕΙΑΝΚΑΙΔΙΑΤΗΝΕΑΥΤΗΣΚΟ[Σ]
ΜΙΟΤΗΤΑΚΑΛΛΕΙΔΙΕΝΕΝΚΟ[Υ]
ΣΑΝΚΑΙΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΣΑΣΑΝΠΑΡ
ΘΕΝΟΝΕΤΙ *

From this sarcophagus, which stood close by the side of one less ornamented and without inscriptions, we



copied the following interesting record, which shows how carefully the owners of the tombs endeavoured to

* "The Senate and the People honoured, even when she had departed, Claudia Tryphosa Pauleina, the daughter of Apollonius the high-priest, herself a high-priestess, who, for the sake both of the most honourable zeal of her father and forefathers towards the common weal, as of her own comeliness, was distinguished in praise, and died still a maiden."

ΟΠΛΑΤΑΣΕΣΤΙΝΑΔΡΑΣΤΟΥΤΟΥΓΛΥΚΩΝΟΣΤΟΥΓΛΥΚΩΝΟΣΤΟΥΛΕΟΝΤΟΣΤΟΥ °ₒ ᴹᴬ

ΕΚΑΤΟΜΝΟΝΟΣΠΟΛΥΧΡΟΝΙΟΥΟΝΤΙΝΑΠΑΛΤΟΝΣΥΝΕΧΩΡΗΣΕΝΑΥΤΩΠΟΛΥΧΡΟΝΙΑΚΑΛΛΙΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ

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ΕΝΤΗΣΟΡΩΤΕΘΗΝΑΙΕΤΕΡΟΝΔΕΜΗΔΕΝΑΕΝΔΕΤΗΙΣΩΣΤΗΤΗΠΡΩΤΗΥΠΟΚΕΙΜΕ//ΗΣΟΡΩΕΝΤΑΦΗΝΑΙ

ΒΟΥΛΟΜΑΙΤΗΝΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΜΟΥΚΑΙΠΟΛΥΧΡΟΝΙΟΝΤΟΝΥΙΟΝΜΟΥΕΝΔΕΤΗΕΤΕΡΑΙΣΩΣΤΗΤΕΘΗΝΑΙΒΟΥΛΟΜΑΙ

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ΕΣΤΩΣΑΝΥΠΕΥΘΙΝΟΙ//////ΙΙΣΝΑΙ//ΙΑΝΛΑΔΤΑΤΕΤ//ΑΓΜΑΙΕΤΕΡΟΝΠΠΟΚΕΕΙΕΣΤΩΕΠΑΡΑΤΟΣΚΑΕ

////ΜΠΕΟΣΑΙΡΟΣ//////////Ο//ΤΟΤΑΤΩΤΑΜΕ//ΙΩΙΣΠΕΩΝΤΟΤΡΙΤ////ΣΤΩΤΟΥΕΚΔΙΚΗΣΑ*

secure their preservation and sole occupancy, and may also add to our knowledge of their construction, and of the technical names of the various portions. These sarcophagi stood upon a stone substructure, too much buried for our examination; but in many others we saw, and in some were able to enter, a low apartment beneath; this seems to be called here the *platas*, and to be appropriated to the less honoured individuals of the family.

* *Translation of Inscription on the preceding page.*

"The substructure [*Platas*] is [the property] of Adrastos Polychronios, the son of Glykon, the son of Glykon, the son of Leon, the son of Hekatomnon. The substructure that Polychronia, the daughter of Kallikrates gave up to him, on that substructure he built a monument, lying upon the substructure, and both the sarcophagus [*Soros*] and the compartments [*Isostæ*] in it, and the other things in it. In that sarcophagus I buried Barilla, my wife; and likewise I wish myself to be put into the sarcophagus, but nobody else. Into the first compartment, lying under the sarcophagus, I wish my [second] wife, and Polychronios my son to be buried. But in the other compartment I wish to be put Tatianos and Adrastos, my children; but nobody else to be put either into the sarcophagus or into the compartments. But if my heirs, after having put me into the sarcophagus, shall not make fast the bolt, let my heir be the goddess Aphrodite. The trustees of the temple for the time being shall institute proceedings about it, who shall be responsible for it. But if, contrary to the directions, anybody shall bury another [in the monument], let him be accursed, and besides pay into the most holy treasury five thousand denaria, of which one-third is to be his, who institutes proceedings[1]."

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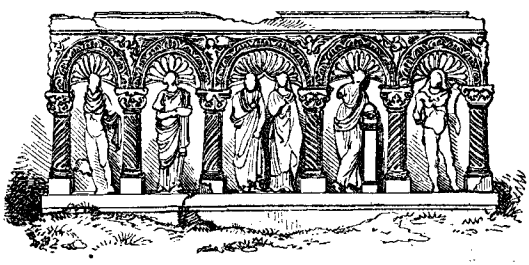
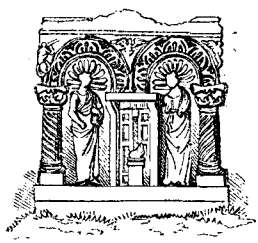
[1] Published by Boeckh, 2824, from the manuscript of Sherard, who saw the monument in a more perfect state.

Some of the sarcophagi of the Byzantine age are richly wrought, and, although many of them are of Christian date, they appear to have retained the Pagan devices: at the end of the one represented appears an altar burning in front of a door.





The remaining inscriptions I have copied at Aphrodisias are so numerous, that I shall place them at the end of this volume, in an Appendix.

We had provisions with us, and our only want of firewood was supplied by these civil but simple people. It was amusing to see their curiosity when we were copying inscriptions, by beating wet pulpy paper into the hollowed letters in the marble, and allowing it to dry in the sun; they showed great delight, and soon learned to assist us. I regretted my not understanding the words in which they indicated their surprise, but I read it in their unaffected and expressive countenances. The instruments, and their use in making observations of our latitude and longitude, as well as the taking our altitude by boiling the thermometer, were of course all objects of wonder to them, and I dare say will be long

talked of by these simple people*. Three days appeared but a short time to remain in this interesting place, but on Wednesday evening, the 11th of March, we were again at Karasoo. On the 12th, we remained to arrange for horses for our further travels, and rambled for a few miles about the valleys and deeply-cut ravines of the beautiful neighbourhood. In the vegetable world all is still-bound in the chains of winter; scarcely a flower is seen but the anemone, and a beautiful species of fern†, new to me, both of which I have added to my collection. The thermometer has not risen above 34° for several days, and all the rippling streams are frozen at their edges; but objects of interest may be found in a ramble at all seasons, and the valley or ravine of the Mosynus is not deficient in them. In walking down by the side of the river, I observed streams of water issuing from fissures in the white cliffs, and no ice around them. On examination I

* I made a series of observations at Aphrodisias, to determine its place on the map. I took a set of double altitudes of the sun about the time of noon, and other sets morning and afternoon to learn the error in the watch, so that the former might be reduced to the meridian. Hence we have 37° 36′ for the latitude. I also took a set of lunar distances for the longitude, but on my return home I found that, though there may be a doubt whether this city should not be placed even a little more eastward than I have ventured to place it, yet the point in doubt is not great enough to be lessened by my lunar distances made with a box-sextant.

† *Adiantum Capillus Veneris* (Maiden-hair Fern).

found that they were warm springs, and strongly charged with sulphur: several tributary streams to the crystal waters of the Mosynus were clouded as with milk from these springs, and were long before they became mixed with the purer waters of the river. On further examining the cliffs, I was surprised and pleased to find them similar in many respects to the singular geological formation which I noticed as so abundant in Phrygia. The great mass was of a rotten limestone, which cracked and crumbled as it became exposed to the moisture of the atmosphere. This soft bed is interstratified with a harder substance, containing much lime, but of that peculiar clayey or earthy fracture which I observed in Phrygia. I could see here no pumice-stone, but found nodules of pure yellow sulphur protruding from the decomposed chalky cliffs; in other parts were beautiful crystals of sulphate of lime or selenite: these are continually fractured, and their glittering surfaces attracted my attention. The whole of the hills in this valley are of a similar composition, but the surface is generally covered for many feet with a red gravel, containing clay, which is manufactured into the classic forms of antique pottery by the present inhabitants. Probably the peculiarity of the waters in the neighbourhood may also attract the bleachers and dyers, so numerously employed in this valley.

March 13*th*.—The first of March is with the Turks the beginning of the year, and from that date hitherto have commenced the contracts or farmings with the Sultan,

for the taxes of the various cities and districts. I have ventured to condemn the principle, but my experience has shown that either the working of it, or other circumstances, has left a good and happy peasantry; all Turks indeed appear to be contented. The Greeks were, I am aware, oppressed by the different governors with heavier taxes, and were treated as a conquered people; but, on the other hand, they escaped the trouble and annoyance of personal service as citizens.

When we left Karasoo, the newly appointed Aga (or, as he is always called in eastern countries, *Arrdh*) had not arrived from Constantinople. Up to this period the chief person of the place was generally appointed its governor, and if no complaint were lodged against him for extortion or general ill-conduct, he, as a matter of course, received his engagement from the government, —his own conduct thus being kept in check by the humblest of the subjects of the Sultan, who is at all times accessible. The whole system is this week altered; the tree of liberty is to be planted, and the reform commenced by the late Sultan in Constantinople is to be adopted throughout his dominions. This change was working its way too tediously by the old system of appointing local governors; the present Sultan therefore, from this time, takes the whole of the revenues of his kingdom into his own hands, and sends from Constantinople tutored strangers, with fixed salaries, to collect his taxes and to carry out his new system. I doubt not that this will effect his intention; the result I can-

not foresee; but it is to be feared, that, like the attempt to imitate the more superficial part of our European customs, it will under the appearance of the good retain much of our more tempting vices. He was a bold man who first ploughed up the green pasture and made the earth fallow, and his faith must have been great when he buried his good grain in the ground.

On the horses arriving to carry our baggage from Yeerah, we first heard of the arrival of the new Aga, and of his having read publicly the firman or code of regulations. The changes introduced were the subject of conversation among all the groups we saw collected on our arrival at Karasoo. New laws are important things, for their non-observance creates new crimes. An instance of this stood first on the new code. The formation of an army is a new thing in this country, and it has been required that each district should supply a certain number of soldiers, to be sent to Constantinople or elsewhere. This law, to a peaceable and indigenous peasantry, alarmed many families, and the shepherds' sons, as I had witnessed in several instances two years ago, were frightened at our approach, fearing that we were coming to take them for soldiers. This fear has driven many for a time from their houses into the mountains, or other villages; it became therefore requisite (if the formation of an army is requisite, after so many centuries without one,) to prevent this by some law not found in the Koran—a code of laws which is instilled into the very heart of the citizen and follower

of the Prophet. Fifty police soldiers or patrol were ordered for this valley of the Mosynus, to scour the mountains, and a pass-paper or passport is to be taken by every person removing from his village.

The next order which puzzled the Turk was a strict injunction that the Greek was to be treated as a brother, and that no distinction whatever should legally exist in the treatment of the people of the various nations subject to the Porte. The taxes which have hitherto fallen with tenfold weight on the more industrious Greek, who is generally poor, or at least has no visible property in flocks or lands, is now to be levied upon property, or so much a head upon all the flocks; on sheep and goats, for instance, one piastre is to be paid annually for each, and the new system thus at once places the taxation almost wholly upon the richer Turk.

Two boys had quarrelled in our khan; one injured the other, and was taken before the new governor. The boy was bastinadoed until he was unable to bear more, and was waiting until he was sufficiently recovered to receive the remaining number of stripes written in the law against his offence. A requisition was sent by the leading people of the place, the friends of the boy, to beg a mitigation of the sentence; but the Aga, for the first time in Turkey, avowed that he had *in himself no power*—he was merely the passive agent of the law. The ostentatious carrying of arms, hitherto the pride and ornament of the Turk, is forbidden, and no persons are now allowed to possess arms unless licensed to bear

them. We are accustomed to this, but it is new in Turkey. The change which most affected ourselves was the regulations of the Post: hitherto the Menzilkhanner, or postmaster, had a salary, and for this he was bound to supply such horses as might be required by the messengers of Government or Post, and those persons who were provided with a firman, or teskary, at a stated price of one piastre an hour for each horse, the only profit to the postmaster being his salary. The new regulations put an end almost to this office; it withdraws the salary, and allows him to charge two and a half piastres an hour to the few private individual travellers provided with teskaries, on condition of his carrying the Government dispatches free; in this village it was evident that the very small demand by travellers, even at the former low price, bore no proportion to the continual requirements of the Government, and at the new price would probably be superseded by the hire of horses from individuals on more reasonable terms. We were therefore applied to by the late Menzilkhanner, who tendered himself and his stud of ten horses for our service by the month, we taking him wherever we pleased. His first demand was like all proceeding from the Turk, honest and moderate, the result of consideration; he offered himself, two Zooregees and ten horses, he paying all expenses of the men and horses on the road; his own food he proposed to share with our servant. The charge was 1400 piastres a month, and we might leave him

when and where we chose—a sum less than ten shillings a day; the bargain was closed, and he placed his hand on his breast and head, and touched my hand; his word was thus given, and no further agreement was requisite. The Governor soon sent down to say that he was for a time left without horses, until a new contractor could be found, and asked us as a favour to defer our departure for one day, that he might be enabled to send off some dispatches; he at the same time renewed his invitation to us to take up our abode at his Konak, or official residence.

We took advantage of this day's rest, and rambled about the neighbourhood. I have mentioned that the soil of this country consists of rapidly decomposing limestone, and as the streams carry down this lime in their waters, of course incrustation of vegetable matter and of loose pebbles on the banks is the consequence. This conglomerate has not been overlooked by the people, and superstition was fed by the occurrence. They tell us, that before the time of Mahomet, lived Haziratallee, and the print of his horses' feet was made upon a rock in the valley; that in order to pay respect to his memory, all passers-by are said to have thrown a stone on the pile raised to his honour; and every stone was fastened down by some good spirit, and thus formed into a mountain.

March 13*th*.—This morning we left Karasoo in the formidable cavalcade of our newly-arranged party; in front rides our Cavass, a kind of courier, in a most

superb Turkish costume, with the beautiful embossed silver pistols and sword of the country stuck into the front of his sash; his horse caparisoned to correspond with his dress, and trained to the prancing pace of such an officer in a Turkish procession. Next came a Zoorigee with green turban; then three loads of baggage, and another Zoorigee. I followed, with Mr. Hesketh and Mr. Scharf, and the rear was filled by Mania. I fear the extent of our cavalcade will impede a rapid progress, but at present the road lying over the same stony district by which we had ascended the valley, prevents our exceeding a walking pace. This evening we are at Arrachiflee, on the side of the river opposite to the ruins of Antiocheia. I find by my thermometer that we have descended above five hundred feet from Karasoo.

March 14*th*.—We have travelled for eight hours, or more than thirty miles, to the westward, along the southern side of the valley of the Mæander, which is far more picturesque than the northern; the mountains, at whose feet our road lay, being rock, and not the crumbling gravelly hills, which, at the distance across the valley, now assume a more pleasing appearance. The country immediately on our right is a perfect level, and is cultivated with corn; the plough is seen moving in every direction. On our left the sloping green of the lower hills of the mountains are spotted with cattle and the black tents of the Yourooks. Many small villages are sheltered among them, the principal

of which are Birrejeh and Arepas; the latter is situated at the foot of a hill covered with the ruins of a city or fortress of unhewn stone, similar to those at Antiocheia; these may probably have been the ancient Harpasa. Beneath this runs the river Harpasus, winding down the valley in a broad, strong, and quiet stream, cutting deeply into the sandy soil. A profusion of ducks and wild-fowl find shelter in the reeds and bushes growing on the waste track, occasionally inundated by its waters; the valley is about four miles across. A ferry-boat is at the end of the valley, and lands you at the village of Dondoorahn on the western side. Here, as at the other ferries I have seen in this country, the boat is of a triangular form, and looks like the head of a boat cut off at midships; the rope which stretches across the river is of very considerable length, and is formed of vine-stems, many thirty or forty feet long, spliced together at their ends. We are now in the Konak, or house of the Aga, in the little village of Yennibazaar, which is erroneously laid down in all the maps, as are also many of the rivers in this district. I have been shown some sheep here, which appear of the same breed as all others of this country; having the broad tail, and known to us as the Cape sheep; but these flocks I am told are peculiar in having lambs twice during the year, and frequently two lambs at a time. This profitable quality of course increases the price of the sheep.

March 15th.—We are at a little village consisting of but a few well-built stone houses in a plain; it is called

Zhumarlee-cooe. In the yard of the Konak is a pedestal with this inscription:

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ
ΕΙΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΥΣΕ//ΑΣΤΟ// *

I also observed many fragments of ancient art, evidently from some old site not far distant. We are told that they are brought from Arab Hissá, a village eight miles south of this place, the object which has caused me to seek this route. From Yennibazaar we have had a beautiful ride of six hours, travelling for the first eight miles down the valley of the Mæander, towards the west, passing continually little villages on the sides of the hills: these have all names signifying some rustic fare they afford. I put down these in the order we passed them, but they none of them deserved a remark for preference, although they may serve as guides for future travellers. The situation of each was fine and healthy, overlooking the broad and rich valley to the north: Alkhan Kuilee Khan, (or 'ass's stable'); Chalgar, Yodurennee, Allahnee, Dalamon, Tepecooe, Youghoortcooe, and on the right Yostootsh. We here turned to the south through the mountains by an ascending valley, with its little rill called Hassá-bohas. The scenery was beautiful; winding up rocks well clothed with underwood, while beneath the branches the spring

* "[The statue?] of Apollo, the Liberator, the August." These epithets, applied to Apollo, are unusual.

flowers were bursting into bloom. The soil was of sand, and its red and yellow hues added to the rich effect of the vegetation. In an hour and a half we reached the summit of this range of hills, and looked down upon a valley, with a large river running from the north-east through a fine rich-looking mountain country. Descending to its banks, we had to cross and recross its broad but shallow bed a dozen times. I never saw a better-looking stream for fish, and in its crystal waters I saw shoals of the finny tribe enjoying life. They appeared like our trout of about three-quarters of a pound weight. The river took a westward course, and through a narrow ravine led us to this large valley, watered by the river Cheena, the ancient Marsyas, to which, still further to the west, it became a tributary.

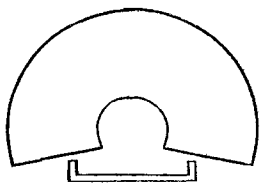
CHAPTER III.

Arab Hissá, ancient Alabanda—Ruins—Demmeerge-derasy, ancient Alinda—Tombs—Ruins—Passage of the Mountains—Unknown Ruins—Mylasa—Temple of Labranda [?]—Ancient Remains—Mausoleum.

March 16th, Capeedas.—Arab Hissá had not a shelter for us, consisting of but a few huts amidst the ruins of the ancient city, whose temple walls now serve as folds for calves, which are bred abundantly in this neighbourhood. This village, which is of the lowest grade to deserve the title, is a mile to the south of Arab Hissá. Depositing our baggage, we lost no time in returning to examine the ruins of the ancient city, whose name has not yet been satisfactorily fixed: it is supposed by many to be the ruins of Alabanda. Climbing up the back of a steep hill which overlooked the city, and whose top was covered with old walls, we had a commanding view of the whole country, the position of which differs much from that laid down in the maps. The large river, which, escorted by guides, we had with great difficulty crossed four miles to the south of Zhumarleecooe, soon afterwards divided into two branches; one coming from

Cheena on the south, which gives its name to the river, the other from the west-south-west. Crossing the latter, we arrived at the ruins before us, which are at the fork or angle of the two rivers. The whole country is mountainous, but the valleys highly productive and extensive. Scattered about are the tents of the Yourooks, who watch the numerous flocks of sheep, and herds of cows and buffalos. The plains are in large tracks of monotonous colours, with the young wheat and barley, and here and there the rich-looking red soil is being ploughed to receive the seeds of the cotton-plant. Rising from this plain are green slopes, covered with flocks, and the fig, olive, and vine show that a fine climate favours this region. The ruins of the city below are mysterious; there is a boldness and simple massiveness in the construction of the walls and theatre, which is anterior to the age of the cities I have seen during the past week, but an almost total absence of inscriptions leaves much in obscurity. The whole of the materials used in its construction are of igneous rock, and generally of a coarse granite, whose perishing surface has been further injured by the lichens growing upon it. The few inscriptions which I traced with difficulty upon the sarcophagi, were too imperfect to throw much light upon the name or history of the city. The theatre, which faced the north-west, was as usual built in the side of a hill, and its massive stone-work is of the beautiful and regular Greek style, the joints between the large stones being rendered more conspicuous by

the bulging or cushioned form of each stone; the walls are built with two wide and one narrow course successively; the proscenium has been destroyed, and the seats have disappeared, but the outward form remains, as well as the three arches for the vomitaries. The shape is of a kind of which I had not seen many, and I believe is almost peculiar to eastern Greece, the ends or horns of its crescent having their walls cutting inwards towards the proscenium.



Near the theatre has stood a building of considerable importance, and upon a site most imposing, but its basement, or stoa, alone remains. Down below, on what appeared from above the flat valley, but which we found was still elevated ground, stands a finely-built structure of an oblong form, which now is perfect as high as a cornice, probably thirty feet from the ground; above this are the bases of pilasters and openings for doors; the interior is a mass of ruin, and affords no clue to the former use of this building. Foundations are seen in every direction for the distance of a mile in length, and nearly half a mile in breadth. Even more than this extent has been included within walls, for

their ruins are traced over the ridges of the hills at the back of the city. The position of four important gates are now marked by lines of sarcophagi on either side of the road, from the walls into the plains; those to the east and west extend for more than a mile. The form of the sarcophagus is generally of an uniform plain squared oblong, and the lids of a rude shape, scarcely rising to a pediment at the ends. The inscriptions upon them consist of but few letters, all of the Greek character: they are generally above six inches in length, but so imperfect from decay, that I fear the few I have copied will be almost useless.

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΩΝΑΛΚΙΒΙΑΛΟΥ
ΚΑΙΚΑΛΙΟΠΗΕΓΥΝΑΙ
ΚΟΓ//// *

ΤΟΑΝΓΕΙΟΝΙ//

ΑΙΟΝΗΟΙ 'ΤΟΥ
ΚΗ ΠΟΤΟΥ

ΤΟΑΝΓΕΙΟΝΠΟΥΛΔΙΟ
//ΓΕΝΙΑΝΥΦΑΣΙΑΝΑ
ΤΟΥ †

* *Translation.*—" [The tomb ?] of the Aurelii, Alcibiades, and Calliope, his wife." Both husband and wife seem to have belonged to the Aurelian family.

† Each of these inscriptions seems to begin with the words ΤΟ ΑΝΓΕΙΟΝ, usually now written ἀγγεῖον, *a vessel*, here the *urn for the ashes*, which meaning is borne out by other funeral inscriptions.

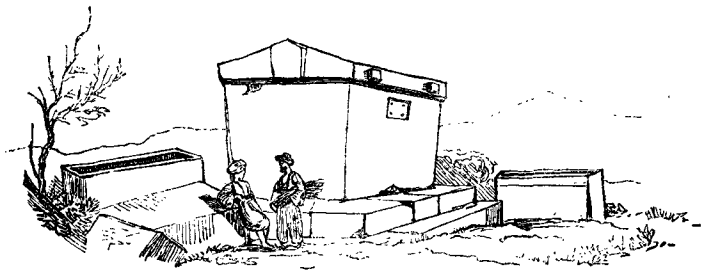
Scarcely a block of marble is to be found in the ruins of the city; the pedestal which we yesterday saw at Zhumarleecooe was perhaps the last remaining legible inscription. The order of architecture seems to have been wholly Ionic; some columns are fluted, but generally plain, and not any of great dimensions. I obtained a few coins, among which were some of the ancient city, with the name of Alabanda upon them; also coins of Magnesia ad Mæandrum, which was opposite to the end of this valley, and of Miletus also not far distant. I made some observations for ascertaining localities, but the cloudy weather rendered this difficult.

Demmeerge-derasy, March 17th.—After a ride of five hours, perhaps not more than sixteen miles, generally bearing to the west-south-west, we are again amidst ruins, but of a far more interesting and picturesque appearance than those which we have left at Alabanda; we therefore tarry here for a day to examine them. The road we have traversed since leaving Arab Hissá lay in the valley of the branch of the Cheena, which river takes the name of Karpuslee-chi, from a village of that name about two miles higher up the valley. Passing several groups of huts, each boasting the name of a village, and then turning up to the south-west, we crossed a series of small mountains, covered with rich underwood and wild olives. In each valley we saw the tents of the Yourooks, depasturing their cattle around them, while their few camels raised their stately heads above the trees on the hill sides, upon which they were

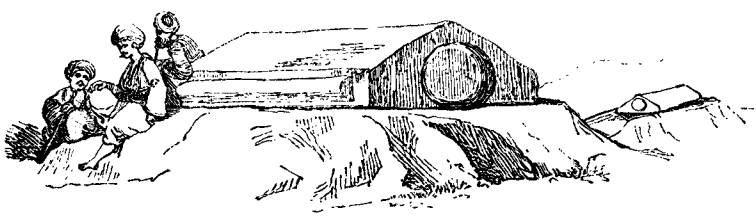
brousing. Scarcely any cultivation is here attempted. Turning again through a ravine to the west, we came upon the declivity of a hill covered with olive-trees; and as we entered a little valley, encircled by hills, which puzzled us to ascertain how the river entered, and again left it, we arrived at a few houses, forming the village of Hoomarleh. A heavy shower of rain drove us to take shelter for half an hour in a stable; a bowl of olives, in oil, and a quantity of bread of the country, was brought to the servants.

When the shower abated, we peeped out of our retreat, and saw some females separating the oil from the olive, a process which I had not before had an opportunity of observing. The group was picturesque: bags filled with olives, which had been crushed in the mill, and for some weeks lying in salt, were piled upon a rock; near these was a large pot or copper of boiling water, into which each bag was put in turn, and then placed upon a flat floor, or stone, with channels cut across it; upon these hot bags women were treading with their legs bare, visible at least to the knee, while their heads were closely shrouded with the white veil, covering the upper part of the body; from under this came an arm, grasping a long stick, which served to steady the body during the violent exercise of trampling the apparently scalding bags; the hot liquor ran off into wooden vessels, on the top of which floated the oil; a plug near the bottom was occasionally withdrawn, to let out the dark chocolate-coloured liquid which stained the channels from

every part of the village, the pressing of the oil being at this season the occupation of most of the women of the place. The spring is here beginning to open rapidly; each day's rain seems to shower down flowers; hyacinths, anemonies, and some beautiful yellow blossoms, seem to exhaust every variety of colour; the narcissus, springing up from among the tufts of thorns, adds a sparkling white to the gay picture. This latter flower is a favourite with the Turks, and soon finds a place in the folds of his turban; it is the flower commonly gathered and offered to us by the peasantry. The Turks value sweetness more than beauty in flowers; I am reminded of this by seeing the grape-hyacinth in bloom, whose apparently dead and dull flower was frequently presented to me on my former tour later in the season, the honey-like smell giving it a great charm with this people. Crossing the Karpuslee-chi, we traversed the valley, and arrived at this place—and what has it been? The direction is west-south-west of Arab Hissá, although the same place is laid down in the maps to the north, and there only supposed to have been the ancient Orthosia; I hope to fix its locality by a set of observations, but its name must remain unknown, unless the numerous coins I have collected may tell the tale. I have not discovered a single inscription. Many of the sarcophagi have had tablets let into their rough stone, probably of metal or marble, but the holes made by the ties alone remain.



The situation of this highly picturesque city is perfectly Greek, and I have seen none built up so steep a crag, formed of the boldest blocks of granite-rock, which have in many places been cut into long flights of wide steps, leading up to the city. One of three or four of the lines of tombs, showing the various approaches, is very characteristic, and must have had a grand and melancholy appearance—a "Via Sacra"; it was a paved way, of steep ascent from the valley, extending nearly a mile up into the crag of the acropolis, winding the whole length between tombs, of all the forms of heavy melancholy grandeur, which effect was heightened by the grey colour of the granite, out of which, or rather in which, they were formed; for some, the most novel to me, had a cavity for the body cut into the mass of the rock, and a heavy cover placed over it; the weight of some of



these has secured the sanctity of the dead. I sketched many of various forms, but the effect of the whole I cannot express with pencil or pen. This street of tombs retains its pavement of large oblong stones, eight or nine feet in length; the width of the way was seventeen feet, formed by two stones. As an admirer of works of art, I am of course delighted to find highly ornamented and sculptured tombs, as I have done in Lycia; but as monuments for the dead, these massive tombs are more fit emblems, and are another instance of the perfection of taste among the early Greeks. The designs of many of our modern tombs carry the ideas away from the dead, and are looked at often as works of art alone.

Near the upper termination of this Via Sacra is a very conspicuous building of beautiful masonry; it has a bold front, running along the face of the steep rock, and apparently serves to hold up a terrace, of the width of about a hundred feet; the rock then becomes its opposite support. Within the front of this oblong building, which is nearly 330 feet in length, are a series of square rooms, or store-houses, and above them a colonnade of square pillars, with a half-column of the Doric order on either side. These and the lower rooms have been lighted by small apertures near the ceiling of each. On the terrace above all was another colonnade of single Doric pillars, many of which are still standing; but these terraces occupied only forty feet of the front; the remaining depth is now a mere level field, and its

former use is perfectly uncertain. It may have been an *agora*, but its position is too important, and not very convenient for the citizens living so high above. This building much resembles the oblong basement at Alabanda, which could not have been an agora, from its height, and was most probably the stoa of a temple or place of amusement; the length is not sufficient for a stadium, nor have there been raised seats for spectators. Almost perpendicularly above this building stands the theatre, facing nearly the south; most of the seats remain, and the outer walls are entire, excepting those of the proscenium, which have fallen down the cliff in front. Winding round the rocks above, amidst walls of massive and uniform masonry, covered with ruins of ornamental buildings, and columns, both fluted and plain, but of small dimensions, we climbed upon the top of the acropolis or citadel. On the northern side stands a fine square tower, with windows and doors on its upper floor; this is formed of excellent massive Greek masonry, some of the stones measuring twelve to fourteen feet in length. The crown of this hill seems to have had little more than walls surrounding it; no foundations are visible upon its small field at the top, but beneath its surface are large cisterns, lined with cement, and similar to those I have often seen made by the early inhabitants of the coast of this country for storing their grain; these vaults were partly arched over, and were then covered up with stones above thirteen feet in length.

The buildings of the city viewed from this elevation were almost lost among the rocks with which they were mingled: the huts of the people of the present town did not disturb the effect of ruin, and their green flat tops distinguished them among the rocks below.

I find out of twenty copper coins obtained here, five bearing the name of Alinda, which city stood in this region of Caria. In the absence of better authority, I should consider this as sufficient to mark these ruins as the site of the ancient Alinda.

March 19*th*.—We are in one of the most beautiful situations I ever saw, in the little scattered village of Toorbeh, high up in the mountains, and raised on a rocky eminence amidst a forest of stone-pines. The direction we have taken from Demmeerge-derasy is south-west, the distance five hours. About a mile and a half on the way we left the village of Karpuslee on the right, crossing its river twice, and then gradually ascending the mountains, whose circle appeared to contract around us, until their various rills, like radii directed towards the valley, united in a considerable brook, which is the source of the river forming the main branch of the ancient Marsyas. The mountains consist entirely of blocks and crags of coarse granite, which is rapidly decomposing, and its sand nourishes luxuriantly the oak and the stone-pine, whose rich deep colour contrasts beautifully with the brilliant green of the mossy rocks. The peculiar effect of a forest of this description of fir-trees must be seen in order to be properly appreciated, and I

have seen none but in this country; these firs cultivated in Italy give but a faint idea of the peculiar beauty of their natural growth. The forest extends nearly thirty miles over the range of mountains separating this valley from that of the country of Mylasa. The distant ranges of granite crags rising above the wood, and the green valleys cultivated at their feet, even in this high district, formed a view from the door of our cottage that exceeded in beauty anything I had ever seen in European scenery, although of so different a kind that each has its peculiar claim to admiration.

March 20th.—For nearly two hours this morning we continued our ascent of the wooded mountain-range towards the west-south-west, craggy and highly picturesque, but not very steep. Along the ridge of the mountain the trees became less thick, and allowed us to look down the ravines of hills upon the extended view that opened before us to the westward, over the plains of Mellassa, bounded by the bold mountains skirting the Cerambic gulph; the sea formed, as it were, a placid lake, and the island of Cos, with the promontories of Halicarnassus and Cnidus, were gray in the distance.

The vegetation during our morning's ride had changed from the unvaried underwood of the dwarf oak to the heath, cistus, and lavender; flowers were sparkling between the bushes, and the blossom already covered the yellow broom. The geological features, as we passed the summit, also changed; the coarse granite seemed gradually to cease, appearing only in rolled blocks, over the

shivered slaty rocks which abound so much throughout the whole of Anatolia: thick veins of quartz protruded in ridges, and the blocks of granite were veined with lines of a black quartz. The rocks, as we descended, became more and more schisty, until at every step they crumbled into a silvery dust of mica; the beaten track of the road consisting almost wholly of blocks of quartz, the only durable remnant of the decomposing rocks. This increase and change of soil carried us at once, as we descended, into a spring of flowers. I never saw anemonies so numerous and varied: on the meadow at our feet I can compare them to nothing but a rich Turkey carpet, in which the green grass did not form a prominent colour amidst the crimson, lilac, blue, scarlet, white, and yellow flowers. The black iris and a hyacinth were the only additions I made to my collection of plants.

At about twelve miles before we reached Mellassa, and to the north-east of that city, we passed, amidst the woods, some important ruins, of good masonry and of an ornamental character; one fine building, with a door twelve feet wide within a windowed portico, and the square interior or cella having windows on either side, seemed among the most prominent. The portico, formed by the extension of the side walls of the cella, is of the kind known as a portico *in antis*: two fluted columns lay near it. The whole of the buildings of the place seemed compact, and may probably have been enclosed by a long wall running in front. Three or four

tombs, partly cut in the rock, attracted our attention to the place, a few hundred yards before we arrived at the ruins.

In descending the mountain toward Mellassa, we followed and continually crossed and re-crossed an ancient paved road, the large stones differing from those of later days by being wrought and fitted together with the protruding natural rock: the road, in passing ravines, was also built up with solid Greek masonry. This way doubtless continued to the ancient city of Mylasa. Colonel Leake says, that about this spot he thinks it probable may be discovered the remains of Labranda, which name is at present given to the ruins and temple to the north-west; to those he proposes the name of Euromus.

March 23rd, Mellassa (the ancient Mylasa).—We arrived here in a violent storm early in the afternoon of the 20th, and have been detained by the continued rains, which have almost kept us prisoners in our khan, or allowed us but short walks about the town. The rivers in the neighbourhood are much swollen, and the whole country flooded. We have made one excursion to see the temple, on the spot called the ancient Labranda, but the rain fell in such torrents, that the few inscriptions we copied with difficulty, while sheltering the paper within our caps, were afterwards almost obliterated, our portfolios and pockets being completely saturated by the rain. I was anxious to visit this temple again, as my observations on my former tour, of the

differences in its columns, had been explained to me in so interesting a manner by the interpretation of the inscription upon the tablet of a column, stating that its shaft, base, and capital had been contributed by an individual in honour of his daughter. I have now copied eleven of these inscriptions; some are too much obliterated to be deciphered, from lying on the ground. The following is repeated upon all the tablets on the columns in front of the temple:

ΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΗϹΜΕΝΕ
ΚΡΑΤΟΥϹΟΑΡΧΙΑΤΡΟϹ
ΤΗϹΠΟΛΕΩϹϹΤΕΦΑ
ΝΗΦΟΡΩΝΤΟΝΚΕΙΟ
ΝΑϹΥΝϹΠΕΙΡΗΚΑΙΚΕ
ΦΑΛΗΠΡΟΝΟΗϹΑΜΕ
ΝΗϹΤΗϹΘΥΓΑΤΡΟϹΑΥ
ΤΟΥΤΡΥΦΑΙΝΗϹΤΗϹΚΑΙ
ΑΥΤΗϹϹΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΥΚΑΙϹΥΜΝΑϹΙ
ΑΡΧΟΥ *

* A similar inscription to this, which may be read more or less distinctly on five separate columns, I have published in my former Journal, pp. 262 and 331. The one here given is more correct, having been collated with the others.

Translation.—"Menecrates, the son of Menecrates, the Archiater [principal physician] of the town, [gave] whilst Stephanephoros, this column, with the base and capital, his daughter Tryphaena, herself also a Stephanephoros and Gymnasiarchos superintending [the work]."

The office of Stephanephoros (i. e. one who wears a wreath) is occasionally mentioned both on the monuments and coins of Asia Minor. It certainly was a place of great honour, but scarcely one of trust. A

The subjoined inscription is found upon all the columns of the north side:

ΛΕΟΝΛΕΟΝΤΟΣ
ΚΟΙΝΤΟΣΣΤΕΦΑΝΗ
ΦΟΡΩΝΕΞΥΠΟΣΧΕΣΕ
ΩΣΤΟΝΚΕΙΟΝΑΣΥΝ
ΣΠΕΙΡΗΚΑΙΚΕΦΑΛΗΙ *

My opinions as to the architecture and situation of the temple are unchanged. Among the walls I mentioned as being on the rising ground to the north, we found the excavation of a theatre, with many of its seats remaining: its aspect is toward the south-west. The weather was too unfavourable for botanical or geological researches, for the thick branches of a group of evergreen oaks did not even afford shelter from the deluging rain. These oaks have the small

kind of superintendence or patronage over the affairs of the temple and public festivals, seems to have been the chief care of this honorary office, with which scarcely any functions may have been connected, beyond bearing expenses for the common good. Sometimes we see it conferred on the chief priest;—here, on the chief physician and his daughter. The office of Gymnasiarchos, also a very high one, as is indicated by other inscriptions, scarcely imposed any duties beyond those of a munificent patron of the gymnastic exercises and games. The title of Archiater, still in use in some continental courts, was first given by Nero. This, as observed in the Appendix of my former work, fixes the date of the inscription as later than the first half of the first century.

* *Translation.*—"Leo, the son of Leo, whilst Stephanephoros, [gave] the column, with the base and the capital, according to his promise."

holly-like leaf of the dwarf shrub universal in this country; but the size of the trees was immense, their stems being above twenty feet in girth, and the branches must have shaded a circle of seventy feet from the midday sun.

The site of Mylasa has been covered with public buildings, and many of the stones remaining show them to have been highly ornamented. The Corinthian order seems to have prevailed; but Ionic capitals are also seen built into the walls.

The following fragment of an inscription I copied from the tablet upon a solitary Corinthian column standing conspicuously in the town. The letters have been chipped off by the present occupier of the house, through the top of which the column rises. This has been done in order to prevent the intrusion of strangers to see this relic.

ΟΛΗΣ
ΜΑΝΑΝΔΡΟΝΟΥΛΥΑΙ
ΛΔΥΤΟΥΕΥΘΥ
ΟΥΕΡΤΗΝ
ΩΣΠΩΟΣΚΑΙ
ΕΣΕΥΕΝΠΕΤΟΝ
ΓΟΤΟΓΛ *

* *Translation.*—"The People [honoured] Menander, the son of Uliades, the son of Euthydemus, a benefactor of his native town, and born of benefactors."

Published by Boeckh (2698), from Chandler, who copied it when in a more perfect state.

The following inscriptions I have also copied from various walls and sarcophagi in the town:

ΗΣΟΡΟΣΤΟ
ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥΜΑΡΙ
ΛΙΑΝΟΥΚΟΔΡΟΥ *

ΔΑΙΜΟΝΩΝΑΓΑ
ΘΩΝ †

ΠΤΙΝΗΙΟΣ
ΝΟΣΛΕΟΝ
ΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ
ΗΡΑΚΛΕΙ
^ΙΤΟΙΣ ‡

ΔΑΙΜΟΝΩΝ
ΑΓΑΘΩΝ
ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ
ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥ
ΘΕΟΔΟΤΟΥ
ΖΗ §

* "The Soros of Claudius Marilianus Codrus."

† "Of the benevolent spirits."—These words, corresponding to the Latin "Diis Manibus," are very common in funeral inscriptions.

‡ Supposing that at the right-hand side each line has lost two or three letters, we may translate this inscription thus: ".....Tineius, the son of Bion [?], has consecrated [this] lion to Hercules and to the....."

§ "Of the benevolent spirits. [The property] of Tiberius Claudius Theodotus, [now] alive."

ΚΤΗΣΕΙΣΕΙΣΤΕΤΟΝΚΟΙΝΟΝ
ΣΕΙΣΥΓΟΝΟΘΕΥΣΙΝΟΙΣΔΗΚΑΝΕΓ
ΛΑΣΕΩΝΠΟΛΙΝΕΙΣΔΟΥΛΙΚΗΝΠΕΡΙ
ΣΙΝΑΙΣΧΡΑΤΕΚΑΙΗΜΩΝΑΝΑΞΙΟΣΑ
ΟΙΣΓΕΝΟΙΤΟΠΡΑΞΟΥΣΙΔΗΜΟΣΙΑ
ΤΕΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝΜΗΤΕΠΡΟΣΟΔΩ
ΝΕΙΜΗΚΑΤΑΤΕΛΩΝΕΠΙΛΕΙΨΙΝΛΟΓ
ΥΣΤΑΣΤΕΚΕΦΑΛΑΣΕΓΙΤΕΛΩΝΕΙ
ΕΠΑΝΟΡΘΩΣΙΝΤΩΝΕΚΤΗΣΛΑΒΙΗΝΟ
ΑΦΕΡΟΥΣΗΣΟΔΗΚΑΙΑΥΤΟΙΠΡΟΙΔΟΜΕ
ΧΡΕΑΔΗΜΟΣΙΑΤΗΝΓΟΛΙΝΥΠΗΓΑΓΟΝ
ΟΜΑΤΩΝΤΗΝΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣΥΠΕΡΜΥΛΑΣΕ *

* Published by Boeckh, 2695, b. All the words of this inscription may be read distinctly, but are without connection, as a great part of it has not been preserved. It contained a Roman decree, by which the inhabitants of Mylasa obtained a release from some payments and the vexations of the tax-gatherers. The name of Labienus in the ninth line, and that of Cæsar in the last, give the inscription an historical interest. The latter is probably that of C. Julius Cæsar, and Labienus, the same who, as Plutarch (Vit. Anton. c. 28. 30. 33.) and others relate, was proclaimed Imperator by the Parthic army, and overran with his forces Asia Minor as far as Lydia and Ionia (Appian. B.C. l. 5. c. 65). The inhabitants of Mylasa, at the instigation of Hybreas, bravely resisted the invader, but had greatly to suffer for it (Strabo, xiv., p. 660). Marcus Antonius, the Triumvir, sent his legate Ventidius against Labienus, and seems, by the decree contained in our inscription, to have made some grants to the Mylaseans, in consideration of their losses. A similar letter of Marc Antony to the Senate of Aphrodisias, in which also reference is made to Julius Cæsar, has been preserved entire. (Chandler, p. 61, and Boeckh, 2744.)

ΙΚΟΝΔΕ▨▨▨▨ΦΥΛΗΙΤΑΙΣΑΡΧΑΙΡΕ▨▨▨ΑΤ
ΑΓΙΔΟΣΠΟΛΙΤΕΥΟΜΕΝΟΣΑΓΟΤΟΥΒΕΝΤΙΣΤΟΥΠΡΟΤΕΡΟΝΤΕΧ
Ι▨ΑΣΓΑΡΕΙΣΧΗΤΑΙΤΗΙΦΥΛΗΙΕΝΑΡΧΕΙΟΙΣΤΕΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣΠΛΕΙΟΣΙΝΠΡΟΕ
ΑΙΕΝΔΟΞΩΣΣΥΝΓΕΡΙΕΝΕΧΘΕΙΣΤΟΙΣΦΥΛΕΤΑΙΣΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΑΛΛΟΙΣΓΟ
ΚΑΙΦΙΛΟΣΤΟΡΓΩΣΚΑΙΕΜΠΑΣΙΝΑΜΕΜΠΤΟΣΚΑΙΑΝΕΡΙΘΕΥΤΟΣΚΑΙΑΔΩ
ΟΜΕΝΟΣΧΡΗΜΑΤΩΝΤΕΧΡΕΙΑΣΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗΣΤΩΙΔΗΜΩΙΑΞΙΩΘΕΙΣΥΠΟΤΗ
ΣΕΝΤΗΙΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΔΙΟΣΥΝΕΒΗΤΗΝΤΕΦΥΛΗΝΠΟΛΛΩΙΜΑΛΛΟΝΔΟΚΙΜΗΣΑΙ
Κ▨ΙΤΗΙΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΣΥΝΤΕΛΕΣΘΗΝΑΙΤΑΧΡΗΣΙΜΑΩΝΕΝΚΕΑ▨ΗΦΥΛΗΕΥΧΑ
ΕΝΑΥΤΟΝΤΑΙΣΠΡΟΣΗΚΟΥΣΑΙΣΤΙΜΑΙΣΑΛΕΙΤΟΥΡΓΗΤΟΣΤΕΩΝΕΚΤΟ
Ω▨ΘΕΙΣΥΠΟΤΗΣΦΥΛΗΣΥΓΕΜΕΙΝΕΝΓΥΜΝΑΣΙΑΡΧΟΣΚΑΙΓΡΟΕΣΤΗΤΩΝ
▨ΝΟΕΩΝΑΞΙΩΣΤΟΥΔΗΜΟΥΓΡΟΣΕΝΕΧΘΕΙΣΓΑ▨ΙΝΙΣΩΣΚΑΙΜΙΣΟΠΟΝΗ
ΩΣΤΟΙΣΝΟΜΟΙΣΕΤΙΔ▨ΚΑΙΑΝΑΘΕΜΑΣΙΚΟΣΜΗΣΑΣΤΗΝΠΑΛΑΙΣΤΡΑΝΕΚΤΩ
ΔΙΩΝΓΡΟΑΙΡΟΥΜΕΝΟΣΜΗΜΟΝΟΝΕΝΤΟΙΣΠΡΟΕΙΡΗΜΕΝΟΙΣΦΙΛΟΔΟΓ
ΥΠ▨ΡΤΙΘΕΣΘΑΙΤΑΣΓΡΟΤΕΡΟΝΕΥΕΡΓΕΣΙΑΣΟΠΩΣΟΥΝΚΑΙΗΦΥΛΗΦΑΙ▨
ΟΙΣΕΑΓΑΘΟΙΣΑΝΔΡΑΣΙΝΚΑΙΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΟΥΣΙΝΤΗΝΤΕΦΥΛΗΝΚΑΙΤΟΝΔΗΜ
ΑΓΟΝΕΜΟΥΣΑΑΓΑΘΗΙΤΥΧΗΙΕΠΗΙΝΗΣΘΑΙΑΜΥΝΤΑΝΚΑΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΩΣΑ
ΓΤΗΣΚΑΙΚΑΛΟΚΑΓΑΘΙΑΣΕΝΕΚΑΤΗΣΕΙΣΤΕΤΗΝΦΥΛΗΝΚΑΙΕΙΣΤΗΝΓΑΤΡ
ΛΟΝΕΚΦΑΝΗΣΓΕΝΗΤΑΙΗΤΩΝΦΥΛΕΤΩΝΑΙΡΕΣΙΣΤΕΚΑΙΣΓΟΥΔΗΗΝΕΧ *

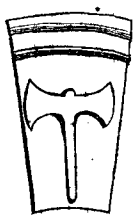
* *Translation of inscription on page* 73.

The first line, which is wanting, seems to have contained the name of the Stephanephoros for the year in which the decree was resolved on; the letters which now stand first belong, as Boeckh concludes from similar inscriptions, to the word ΟΤΩΡΚΟΝΔΕΩΝ, "the members of the Phyle Otorcondea," which was one of the subordinate corporations of Mylasa. Were it not for the entire difference of Pagan and Christian institutions, we might be tempted to translate "Phyle" by *parish*. As at the right-hand side each line has lost some letters, the following translation is partly founded on conjecture.

"..... It was decreed by the Phyle of the Otorcondeans, [through] their magistrates. Whereas Amyntas, the son of Agis, most distinguished by public spirit, has heretofore ministered to the wants of the Phyle, and being in several offices has served well and praiseworthily; and behaving to the members of the Phyle and the other citizens righteously and honourably, and being among all without blame and quarrel, and never bribed; and, when money was wanted, and he was rated by the Phyle, having given more [than was required] to the native town; whence it happened that the Phyle gained much more renown, and gave to the town what there was occasion for; wherefore the Phyle has also gratefully honoured him with the becoming honours; being by his Phyle, according to law, declared free of the liturgiæ [expensive charges ordinarily imposed on the rich citizens], he still remained Gymnasiarchos [patron of the gymnastic games], and superintended the holy affairs [or, according to Boeckh's reading, the revenue officers,] in a manner worthy of the People: behaving to all men equably and honestly, and in obedience to the laws; and embellishing besides, at his own expense, the Palæstra with ornaments; and striving not only in the things that are mentioned, but generally [?], to excel all the former good deeds. That, therefore, the Phyle may appear to render thanks unto men of merit and the benefactors of the Phyle and the People [it was resolved],

"May it be fortunate! That Amyntas be praised and crowned with

I mentioned in my former Journal a fine arched gateway, which was still remaining; an aqueduct has passed over it. I have sketched the outer side, showing on the keystone the sacrificial axe of Jupiter, which has been deemed an argument favouring the idea that this gateway led to the temple of Jupiter



Labrandenus. This emblem I have seen on four different keystones, built into various walls in the town, showing that it must have been very commonly used in the architecture of the city, and not improbably placed over each of its gates. I have obtained coins of the ancient city, with the same emblem upon them, and also one representing Jupiter, with a similar axe in his hand*.

Another of the monuments still existing at Mylasa is shown in the annexed Plate: it is a tomb of a very

a wreath, for his merits towards the Phyle and his native town, in order that the choice of the members of the Phyle may be the more manifest, and the zeal which they have."

Published from Chishull by Boeckh, 2693, d.

* These are given in Plate XXXV. Nos. 4 and 5, at the end of this volume.

imposing form, and may, from its high state of preservation, explain the former use of some I have noticed at Alinda, which now appear as mere pedestals or stoas. A hole in the floor of this upper apartment or temple is said by one writer to have been for the pouring down libations to the manes in the vault beneath. There being no visible means for the friends of the deceased to reach the platform for this holy purpose, I listened to the explanation of the Turk who acted as cicerone: he says the building was a treasury, and that the lower room was filled with gold, which had been dropped down the hole above, and that many such buildings had existed.

I have never heard a Turk relate any anecdote of "old castles," as he calls them, without some reference to hidden treasure; he believes that every inscription tells of treasure, if he could understand it, and every cavern leads to some ancient store of accumulated gold; but these stories, like the tales of children, have each their characteristic moral; they tell you that whoever enters wishing to carry away wealth, finds himself a prisoner, lost in the dark vaults, until he lays down that which he was about to steal: he may then return, empty-handed, by the open door. A Jew is said to have once entered a cavern, and was thus served, but the lesson has prevented the Turk from repeating the like attempt. Many of the hot springs and volcanic gaseous flames in the country serve to dress the meat of the honest shepherd, but that which has been stolen

Drawn by Charles Fellows Esq.re

Dark Haghe Lith.rs to the Queen

TOMB NEAR MYLASA.

John Murray, London 1841

can never be cooked at these places. I should almost regret the loss of this trait of credulous simplicity, however childish it may appear.

In closing my last Journal I gave my general impression of the character of the Turk, formed in spite of prejudice against them, and entirely drawn from their own conduct. Perhaps I may be suspected, like many converts, to have become too warmly the advocate of their character; but I cannot accuse myself of this feeling, and have now reason to repeat my opinion, from a longer experience. What I am about to say will show that their faults are not overlooked by me, although in citing an exception it may be thought to prove my rule. At Naslee the master of the post sat with us, talking much nonsense, accompanied with extreme politeness, and holding in his hand an empty bottle, which he hoped we should refill with arrac; he had evidently drunk the whole of its former contents. I know not if his profession has caused this neglect of the Prophet's laws, but our Cavass is a determined drunkard; he will empty two or three bottles a day of pure arrac, a spirit extracted from the refuse of grapes, used as spirits-of-wine by us, and in strength far above proof. This man is a wretched example of the effects of intemperance; at times he is like a perfect madman; when the fit subsides he weeps like a child, and promises better conduct, but only practises it when beyond the reach of obtaining a supply of spirits, for which he is willing to pay any price or make any sacrifice.

But to revert to the tomb I was describing. Those vast stoas I have mentioned as existing at Alinda have evidently also been mausoleums, and probably surmounted with columns and a superstructure resembling this, the scale alone differing, some of them being of double the dimension of the one shown in the preceding Plate. It is curious that such are not to be seen out of Caria, and that in its construction this tomb precisely answers to the description of the celebrated monument erected to Mausolus in this country, which was one of the wonders of the world, and from which we derive the term Mausoleum.

We are to start from Mellassa tomorrow morning; this has been a lovely day, the sun and wind drying the deluged earth; the streams are again finding their accustomed beds, and we anticipate no further delay. What a change does a sunny day, after rains, make in a warm climate, at this season! the flowers may almost be seen to expand. This morning I wandered over the hill on the south of the town, and saw the flowers recovering from the beating rains; the people were all busy cutting the grass from their house-tops, and every hut had its little roller at work to press down the wet earth of its roof. In the evening I visited the same hill, to seek the site of the ancient theatre, the impression of which alone seems to remain on the south-east side: the whole hill had burst into a garden of flowers. Women and children were decking themselves most tastefully, plaiting the blue hyacinth into their

long hanging locks, and placing a crest of anemonies or marigolds on their foreheads; the folds of the turbans of the boys were rolled in flowers; the whole scene was beautiful. Along the valley, for several miles to the south-east, we traced the ruins of a fine aqueduct, which formerly conveyed the water from the mountains. The distant hills were now gray, and tinged with the setting sun. To the south, at a distance of about six miles, on the verge of a precipice, stands the town of Paichin, supposed to occupy the site of one of the celebrated temples of Jupiter; its situation is worthy of a Greek temple, which, from the valley, would appear relieved against the sky, the country beyond being a flat table-land.

CHAPTER IV.

Stratoniceia, its Ruins.—Route to Moolah.—Ancient Tombs.—The Pasha.—Longevity.—Change in the Laws.—Detention among the Peasants.—Music.—Dancing.—Customs.—Passage of the River.—Dollomon.

March 24th, Esky Hissá.—THIS morning we left Mellassa for this place, the ancient Stratoniceia; the distance is six hours, but from the bad state of the road it has taken us seven. For four miles we traversed the plain, and then for three hours more clambered up the rocky mountainous road to the south-east. This country is highly picturesque, and it has received additional grandeur of effect from the frequent thunder-storms and partial gleams of light amidst the pelting hail-storms.

I have before spoken of the geology of this district; and its changes, although constant, are in two years imperceptible. I again noticed the singular crumbling sands, white, red, and blue, similar to those of Alum Bay in the Isle of Wight; and the ironstone, in almost pure ore, scattered over the surface of the country. In the people I observed the primitive mode

of obtaining turpentine-wood for light; and the felling of the trees is in the last two years as little changed as it has been for three thousand years past, which I noticed in the Appendix to my last Journal.

I this afternoon continued my research amongst the broken fragments of this once large town; from the cella of the great building resembling a temple, in the centre of the city, I copied the remaining inscriptions. The following is taken from the front wall within the portico:

ΕΡΩΤΑΔΙΑΛΟΚΑΛΟΒΟΙΚΟΝΟΜΟ
ΠΙΣΤΗΣΟΝΤΑΙΟΙΑΛΙΤΗΡΙΟΙΒΑΑΡΟΙ
ΛΕΙΗΤΗΧΩΡΑΤΩΕΝΕΣΤΩΤΙΕΤΕΙΟΘΕΟΣΕΧΡΗΣΕ
ΤΟΝΤΑΣΥΜΑΣΟΡΩΝΟΥΚΕΧΩΤΗΝΑΙΤΙΑΝΤΟΥΤΟΥ
ΥΝΒΑΛΙΝΟΥΤΕΓΑΡΕΓΩΠΟΡΘΗΣΩΝΤΗΝΠΟΛΙΝΥΜΩΝΕΣΤΑΛΗΝ
ΕΔΟΥΛΗΝΕΞΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΑΣΠΟΙΗΣΩΝΟΥΤΕΑΛΛΟΤΩΝ
ΑΓΑΘΩΝΟΥΔΕΝΑΦΑΙΡΗΣΟΜΕΝΟΣ*

* Boeckh, 2717, from Chandler, who has given also the first line, which is wanting in the transcript.

Translation.—"[The town, as was likewise ordered by Serapis,] asks through Philocalus twice [i. e. the grand-son of Philocalus], the Œconomus [steward] whether the wicked barbarians shall in the ensuing year infest the town and country. The god answered, 'Seeing what you do, I have no reason why this should come to pass; for I did not set out either in order to lay waste your town, or of making it a slave from being free, or to take away anything else of your goods.'"

This oracle, of course, is not very clear; it was probably delivered in the temple of Jupiter, at Stratoniceia, connected, as Boeckh supposes, with that of Serapis; so also appear to have been their priesthoods, as the one referred the good citizens to the other. Prof. Boeckh thinks that this happened under the reign of Valerian or Gallien, when the barbarians, especially the Scythians, burned the temple at Ephesus.

The following is inscribed upon the wall within the north side of the same building, which I find, from other inscriptions inserted in the Appendix to this volume, is the council-hall of the ancient city.

ΖΗΝΙΠΑΝΗ//////Ω
ΚΑΙΗΛΙΩΔΙΙΣΕΡΑΠΕΙ
ΣΩΘΕΝΤΕΣΕΚΠΟ
ΛΕΜΟΝΜΕΓΑΛΟΝΚΑΙ
ΑΛΛΟΔΑΠΟΙΟΘΑΛΑΣΓΟΝ
ΕΥΧΗΣΙΝΕΚΕΤΑΥΤΕΠΕ
ΓΡΑΨΑΝΥΦΕΝΟΙΤΕΣΣΑ
ΡΕΣΑΝΔΡΕΣΖΩΤΙΚΟΣ
ΕΠΙΚΤΗΤΟΣΗΔΑΝΤΙ
ΟΧΟΣ ¯ΑΜΑΝΕΙΛΟΣ *

I have impressed upon paper the inscription I copied on my last visit to this spot, as a specimen of the most beautifully formed Greek letters I have ever seen. On the outer side of the wall of this cella, towards the

* *Translation.*—" To Jupiter Panemerius and Helios Jupiter Serapis. Being saved out of great wars and strange seas, four men have, in consequence of a vow, together put up this inscription, Zoticus, Epictetus, and Antiochus, [and] also Nilus."

The four men, it seems, intended this to be metrical, and succeeded in making the second line a hexameter, but at the expense both of sense and grammar. The epithet *strange* (*τηλεδαπος*), which, inappropriate though it be, can be joined to no other noun but '*seas*,' does in the original agree with this neither in gender nor number. Stratoniceia had a far-famed temple of Jove, who, as we may also see in other inscriptions, was worshiped under the names of Panemerius, Rhembenodus, etc., the distinguishing attributes of which we do not know.

north, is the long and celebrated edict of Dioclesian, both in Greek and Latin; its transcription, a laborious undertaking, was accomplished above a century ago by Sherard, and is among the manuscripts in the British Museum. Colonel Leake has presented me with a copy of it published in the form of a pamphlet, which is an important supplementary document to his valuable work on Asia Minor. It is curious that many of the articles of food mentioned in this edict still retain the same names amongst the peasantry of the country.

The theatre, which I did not examine on my former visit, is on the west side of the town; the whole of the seats remain, but the proscenium is a heap of ruins. The vomitaries must have been on the sides of the proscenium, for there are no arched ways visible leading into the *diazoma* or lobby. Among the tombs on the east side of the city I copied the following inscriptions, but the heavy rains prevented further research.

ΚΟΜΥΡΙΑΚΟΣ
ΚΑΙΑΡΤΕΜΙΝ
ΚΑΡΠΩΤΩΤΕΚΝΩ
ΜΝΙΑΣΧΑΡΙΝ*

ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥΦΙΛΟΚΑΛΟΥ
ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΣΛΑΒΡΑΙΝΔΙΔΟΣ ΖΗ
ΦΙΛΟΚΑΛΕΧΡΗΣΤΕΧΑΙΡΕ†

* *Translation.*—"Quintus Myriacus and Artemin [Artemion] to Carpus, their child, for the sake of remembrance."

† *Translation.*—"[The tomb?] of Tiberius Claudius Philocalus [and] Claudia, a woman of Labrainda [Labranda?] [now] alive. Philocalus, thou good one, farewell."

ΟΔΗΜΟΣΕΘΑΨΕΝ
ΦΙΛΙΝΝΟΝΣΩΣΑΝΔΡΟΥΚΩΡΑΖΙΔΑ
ΤΗΝΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΤΗΝΑΝΔΡΩΝΟΣ
ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥΚΩΡΑΙΕΩΣ
ΕΖΗΚΥΙΑΝΣΩΦΡΟΝΩΣ
ΚΑΙΓΕΓΕΝΗΜΕΝΗΝΕΜΠΑΣΙΝ
ΑΞΙΑΝΤΩΝΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΩΝ
ΕΠΑΙΝΩΝ*

March 25*th.*—This morning we delayed our departure until eleven o'clock, hoping that the rains would cease; and taking advantage of a fair hour, we travelled slowly over the rocky road towards Moolah. On reaching the plain the rain again fell in torrents, and we were compelled to take refuge at the village of Bozuke, not two hours' ride from Esky Hissá: we have heard the thunder rolling among the mountains around us all the afternoon. The general elevation of this country is 1500 feet above the sea.

Moolah, March 27*th.*—This large Turkish town, the residence of a pasha, has no doubt, from its overhanging rock and fine commanding situation, been the site of an ancient Greek city; this must be the first impression of all travellers who approach it from its flat plain to the north, west, and south. With this idea, I

* *Translation.*—"The people has buried Philinnon, the daughter of Sosander, a woman of Corasa, the wife of Andro, the son of Dionysius, a citizen of Corasa, who [i. e. the woman] had lived righteously, and been among all worthy of the highest praise."

looked for old materials in every wall, but scarcely saw a stone of that character. In rambling up one of the craggy ravines at the back of the town, we were attracted by some square holes high up in the cliffs, and spent several hours in exploring what we found to be ancient tombs, cut within the rocks. From their form and construction, they must have been the work of the early Greeks, and the repositories of the dead of a considerable city; I think we examined above a hundred. The name of the ancient city, I believe, has never been found on inscriptions, but it is supposed to have been Alinda. My inquiry here for coins was answered most liberally, and I have added above thirty to my collection; but among these I find none of the town of Alinda, some of them belonging to the cities on the coast, and one to Samos, together with many Roman and Byzantine. All coins from the neighbourhood naturally find their way to the chief commercial towns. At Mellassa they are quite an article of merchandize with the Jews, and for coins which I bought for a piastre at other places, I was there asked from fifty to one hundred piastres. At present the coins have not been carried far from the places in which they were found, and, like fossils in geology, they may perhaps be useful in indicating a date and name to their different localities.

We yesterday travelled about twenty miles, gradually ascending the valley which gives source to the river Cheena; in its course towards the town of that name

it passes the ancient site of Lekena, on the opposite side of the valley to Bozuke, and a little to the north-east of Acruicooe, the village I passed on my former tour. At a few miles before arriving at Moolah, we left the valley in which the Cheena takes its rise, and, crossing a small range of mountains, reached the large but swampy plain before this town. Today we start for Hoolah, but, as the distance is only twelve miles, we spend the forenoon here, and shall ride over the mountains after an early dinner.

Our room has this morning been quite a busy scene, with Turks bringing in coins and fancied treasures, some of the most ridiculous kind—Russian and Greek modern coins, buttons, pieces of tin, part of a spoon—all considered by these men as of value, from their ignorance of their use. I was amused by the conscientious conduct of one Turk: he possessed, he said, the head of a marble figure, which he promised I should see; considerable delay occurred, and a Russian tailor, who was on his professional tour for the clothing of some young recruits, which we saw on entering the town, brought the little mutilated head to my room, and said that I might have it at my own price. On inquiry, I found that the Prophet has strongly forbidden the dealing in idols, and any representation of man is looked upon as such by the Mussulman; the owner, therefore, did not choose to offer it to me himself. The strict observance of this law must be a constant obstacle to the progress of art; but the same law given to the Jews

did not prevent their following this craft, and the semblance of idolatry continued even in the early Christian church; the Prophet alone has cleared places of public worship of all appearances of idolatry and form.

A general stir among the Greeks in the khan induced me to look out, and I found that among the crowds of turbaned people leaving the mosque, was the Pasha; a few soldiers escorted him from the door to his richly caparisoned horse; his own dress was the modern European, and over it a common blue cloth cloak: the red fez and a diamond locket were the only features unlike an European gentleman. A little eastern form still lingered about his suite; a white horse, saddled and covered with scarlet velvet and trappings of gold, was led in front to prance and display its attitudes, which were beautiful, as it reared and curveted almost upon the same spot; at a suitable distance followed the Pasha, on a black horse, led by grooms on either side, with a number of attendants around. In the rear followed a still more popular personage, with the crowds of children and women who had assembled at a respectful distance; this officer threw into the air handfuls of small coin, which were scrambled for in an amusing manner by the children, rolling over each other on the road.

March 28th, Cagiolasolhucooe.—After copying the following fragment of an inscription, we left Hoolah this morning at half-past nine o'clock, and in five hours arrived here. The change of climate, season, and conse-

quent appearance of the country, is most striking. I was prepared for this by my previous travels, but at that time I was carried from spring back to winter; the spring is now opening before me, and this change has taken place within a few hours. Moolah and Hoolah are situated about 2500 feet above the sea. We have already descended considerably to this place, which is still in the mountains, but they are clothed with rich

ΠΕ
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥΑΝΤΑΓΩΓΑΕΟΔΙΟΥΜΕΝΖΣΤΡΑΤΝ
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥΡΟΔΙΛΤΟΥΠΑΤΙΟΣΚΑΙΑΡΤΕΜΙΣΙΑΚΑ
ΗΔΙΣΤΕΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥΡΟΑΙΑΙΤΟΥΠΑΠΠΟΥΡΑΙΔΟΝΥ
ΣΙΟΣΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΕΥΣΡΟΑΤΟΥΠΑΤΙΟΣΤΗΣΓΥΝ
ΔΕΤΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΝΑΡΟΣ
ΣΕΝΕΚ *

* *Translation.*—" ..... of Dionysius, son of Antagoras [?], a native of Rhodus; Menestrate, the daughter of Dionysius, a native of Rhodus, [to the memory] of her father; and Artemis and Hediste, the daughters of Dionysius, natives of Rhodus, [to the memory] of their grandfather, and Dionysius, the son of Menecrates, a native of Rhodus, to the memory of his wife's father."

The daughter of Dionysius, Menestrate, married another Dionysius, the son of Menecrates, of whom she had two daughters, Artemis and Hediste. It is remarkable, that all these persons, who joined in erecting the monument to the memory (the Greek for these words seems to be contained in the last letters of the inscription) of Dionysius the elder, called themselves Rhodians. As this district of Caria was for some time subjected to the Rhodians, it may have been of some importance to the latter not to be placed in the same rank as the natives among whom they lived. The name of Antagoras is connected with the literature of Rhodes.

soil, fostering a luxuriant vegetation under the genial aspect of the south. I repeat the opinion I have before expressed, that the most perfectly beautiful scenery I have ever seen is displayed in this portion of Caria, the ancient Peræa, and Lycia; and how little is it known to the lovers of the beautiful in Europe, and how little appreciated by its present pastoral inhabitants! They are, however, apparently a happy people, and seem to enjoy long lives.

We are now sitting in a kind of strangers' house, the only one of stone or deserving the name of a hut in this village, for the walls of the others are all of wicker-work, with a roof formed of shivers of the fir-tree. This house is the property of an old man, who sits before me, and expresses great anxiety that I should give him something to "cure his eyes"; he says they are of no use to him, and that he might as well have them poisoned at once: I observe nevertheless that he walks about, and prys into everything around him. He is more than one hundred years of age, and has been here all his life, excepting a visit to Stambool, seventy years ago. He sees well enough to point out, at a distance of a hundred and fifty yards, a woman carrying two large pitchers of water from the river up the hill to his private house; she is his wife, and is one hundred and two years of age; a little turbaned boy is running by her side, apparently more of a companion than a guide, for she walks with a firm step, and has her sight and hearing still perfect.

Dollomon, March 31*st.*—It is unnecessary for me to remark the geological and botanical features of this country, which I noticed in my last Journal. The recent changes in the people of this country strike me most forcibly. The time was, when the Turk was regarded as unchangeable; but the two years since my last visit, and even almost the last month, have witnessed a total change in the country. The Aga, in common with all the governors above him in rank, farmed the district of the Sultan, and was for his year of office a little king, generally acting with liberal hospitality to all around, and particularly to the stranger; of course eventually the cost of this fell upon the people of the district, and the ostentatious establishment of the governor must have been a heavy tax. The case is now altered; each governor is a mere agent, sent generally from Constantinople, to collect all taxes for his master the Sultan: he has a fixed salary.

When I was here last, the large court-yard and surrounding galleries of the establishment or konak in which I am now sitting, were all animation, and full fifty people were assembled to stare at my little train departing. I now arrived with a much larger suite, and not a person was to be seen; at last appeared a servant and the son of the Aga, who welcomed me and offered me an excellent room in his konak; he inquired if we wanted anything, and directed his servant to buy for us firewood and bread, for which a charge was made. After us arrived a Turk of rank, with his accustomed

state; but on entering, to claim his usual entertainment, he was informed that all he required would be obtained for him, and a room was at his service, but that no table was now kept by the Aga. All are treated alike, and no popularity will now serve the agent appointed from Constantinople; he therefore only acts on the directions from that court, and like agents from other nations, he will become the paid representative of his sovereign, and will live according to his salary. The people do not yet understand how the change can take place; and when told of the equality of the Greek as a subject, they almost doubt the Sultan's faith in the laws of the Prophet. The manners of the people are not so soon changed; of this I have during the last two days had several instances, showing their hospitality and simplicity, and have remarked also the customs, which have probably descended from the early inhabitants of this country.

Continuing our route through the beautiful district between Hoolah and Koogez, we reached the latter place early in the afternoon, and enjoyed the lovely view of the bay from a small island close to the town, occupied by a few Greek families. The governor's large house, in which I had before lodged, was now filled with people. A Bey had arrived, and had with him a number of half-drilled soldiers, and every ruined portion of the old Derebbe barracks was occupied; we were therefore lodged in a miserable apartment in one

of the very few houses in the village. The poor accommodation soon made us wish to leave it, and we started early on our way hither, crossing the river Ooalah-chi, which empties itself into the eastern side of the bay. Every person we met during the first three hours of our journey told the same tale, of the impossibility of passing the great river, called Dollomon-chi, which would cross our road at four hours' distance from Koogez; with this assurance, we left the track, and travelled northward for an hour, to a few huts, of which the farming establishment of the chief proprietor of the flocks in that district consists. A large shed was allotted to us by one of the brothers of our host, whilst another undertook to be our guide to some ruins about two miles distant, in the hills to the south-west.

The excursion was a pleasant one, but like many others I have made, our guides being people who cannot conceive our motive for seeking old walls, it failed to satisfy the pursuit of an antiquarian. We found a rocky hill beautifully situated in the midst of its little valley: the summit was covered with ruined walls, but their construction indicates the age of the Derebbe, or the defended position of some lawless chief of a few centuries ago. The walls were of the worst style of art, without buttress, window, or break, except for the protruding natural rock on which it rested. On arriving at this spot, we at once perceived from its commanding situation, that we were only separated from

the bay of Koogez by a narrow range of mountains, and that our course had been more parallel with the coast than the maps indicate.

On our return to our hut, we found that Mania had killed a sheep, and with supplies of kymac and milk had provided against our future wants, for our party is too large to move with the independence and speed that I enjoyed on my last tour. We have for a few days the addition of a Greek, who acts as a local guide amidst the swamps which are so prevalent in valleys at this season.

The evening afforded us much amusement: our apartment was large, and walled for about five feet high, nearly to the eves of the roof, with wattled or wicker-worked fencing, and this had been partially plastered with mud; the gable ends to the east and west were open to the stars of a brilliant but exceedingly cold night. A large fire, lighted at one end of this enclosure, was the point of attraction in the room, but its smoke, driven in all directions by the wind, was not quite agreeable to eyes unaccustomed to its pungency: our hut had no door, and our cheerful fire was a beacon to all the peasants of this little place, and it would be difficult to describe either by pen or pencil the singular and highly picturesque effect of the assembled groups.

There is something peculiarly elegant in the attitudes and manners of these people, be their rank high or low: by all classes the etiquette of rank is observed, for our Zoorigees, with one or two servants of the farm, formed

the background of the scene, and scarcely appeared except when the blaze of the fire was replenished with fresh logs of wood. Twelve or fourteen Turks, all varying in dress, yet each rich and costly, sat around the fire, while we reclined at our table. Mania was cooking, and as usual had to answer the many inquiries of the wondering peasants respecting the strangers.

A lute or guitar, which is found in almost every hut in this country, was soon sounded, and a youth, one of our hosts, played several airs, all extremely singular, but simple, wild, and some very harmonious. One slow melody we admired, and were told that it was a dance; the circle was enlarged, and our Cavass stood in the midst, and danced in a most singular manner the dance, as he called it, of the Yourooks or shepherds; it was accompanied with much grimace, was in slow time, and furnished a good study for attitudes. He was succeeded by a Greek, and I never was more struck than by the accurate representation of the attitudes displayed in the fauns and bacchanal figures of the antique. Mr. Scharf had, unknown to me, sketched some of them; the uplifted and curved arm, the bending head, the raised heel, and the displayed muscles—for all the party had bare legs and feet—exactly resembled the figures of ancient Greek sculpture. The snapping the finger, in imitation of castanets, was in admirable time to the lute accompaniment. This is not a dance for exercise or sociability, as our modern northern dances appear; it is a pas-seul, slow in movement,

and apparently more studied than even the performance of Taglioni: and whence do these tented peasants learn it? they have no schools for such accomplishments, no opera, nor any theatrical representation; but the tradition, if it may be so called, is handed down by the boys dancing for the amusement of the people at their

weddings and galas. The attention and apparent quiet gratification of the whole party also formed a feature unknown to this class of people in any other nation. The musician appeared the least interested of the party, and continued his monotonous tune with mechanical precision. Each guest, whose sole attraction was a feeling of sociability, for there was no repast, nor did he expect it, lighted his torch of turpentine-wood, and retired to his tent or shed.

In the morning we started to attempt to cross the river, which was gradually subsiding; and we heard, among a variety of reports, that its passage was now practicable. Riding for an hour and a half, and regaining our track of the previous day, we arrived on the banks of the ancient river Calbis, now called Dollomonchi. Arrangements were made among the peasants for getting us across; the depth of the water, whose stream was very rapid, was found to be just the height of a man's shoulder, and thirteen men undertook to transport us, with all our horses and baggage, safely over. They all stripped naked, except their turbaned head and girded loins, and as each seized an article of the baggage, and shouldered it, they formed a fine group of figures for the study of an Academy. They soon were in the deep waters; one bearing a package on his head, while two others accompanied him, in order to steady

it, and assist him in stemming the stream. We each followed on our horses, which were led by one man, and guided against the stream by another, and were all safely landed on the eastern banks of this very considerable river.

Hearing a shout from our shivering naked attendants, I asked its meaning, and found that they had received their pay, and with one accord uttered a cry expressive of their satisfaction, and hoping God would bless us, for he was good. They all hastened into the river, swimming and dancing, to show that eight or ten passages of its waters had not tired them.

I must mention one feature, which, I regret to say, seems to be almost peculiar to these people. We were Franks—supposed, as usual, to be rich, *mylordos*: we must cross the river, and had no alternative; we called the people from their homes and work as we passed their tents; no one else had before passed this river, and these men did not wish to attempt it, nor did they approve our plan; notwithstanding this, no bargain was made, no advantage taken of us; and when all were over, they left us to fix the *backsish*, or present-money*; although they received a trifling difference of amount, each man being paid in proportion to his exertions, they all cried out that they were satisfied, and blessed us.

April 1*st*.—An unfortunate date! We delayed pro-

* The pay averaged six piastres (1*s*. 2*d*.) each.

ceeding towards Macry, in order to see some ruins, said to be those of an ancient Greek city, whence many coins had been brought: it was situated upon an isolated rocky hill, in the midst of the extensive plains of Dollomon.

Our search has been fruitless; the day is spent, and we have found only a few rude stones, which may probably have been the walls of some hold of a robber a few centuries ago; nevertheless in this, as in many other instances, I felt a certain satisfaction in knowing that we have left nothing unseen. I am speaking of sight-seeing; the mere act of travelling in this country is itself pleasurable; everything is beautiful, and much new to an European eye.

This valley of Dollomon is perhaps fifteen miles wide, and bounded on the north by a range of mountains thirty miles distant. Its southern end is the sea-coast; every variety of scenery is displayed, from the misty horizon, broken by the mountainous island of Rhodes in the south-west, to the towering snow-topped heights peering above the richly-wooded crags of the mountains to the north-east; still richer hills surround the valley, which is too much overgrown with trees and thickets for cultivation. Amidst the rich swampy soil, the elm, plane, and peach are almost borne down by the vines, clematis, and creepers; and the myrtle, oleander, and the pomegranate cover the banks of every stream. The plains, which need much the capital and skill of the Lincolnshire farmer, are alive with the

camels, buffalos, and breeding horses; while the large tortoise creeps along amidst the numerous plovers, quails, and snipes. The flowers are less varied than on the hills, and the swampy ground makes it impossible for us to dismount and gather additions to our botanical collection.

CHAPTER V.

Inconvenience for want of Corn—Ancient Tombs—Customs of the People—Peculiar Architecture—Discovery of Calynda—Natural History—Telmessus—Tombs, Works of Art—Peculiar Climate—Hoozumlee—Its Inhabitants—State of the Arts among the ancient Lycians—Discovery of Cadyanda—Its Ruins—Valley of the Xanthus—Hoorahn—Ancient Tombs and Ruins, probably of the ancient Massicytus.

April 2nd.—But little barley is grown in this district; and none is now to be obtained at any price for our cavalcade of horses; they have obstinately rejected maize, which is the only corn for man or horse hereabouts, and the grass is not sufficiently grown for the cattle to graze. The consequence is, that we are able only to move forward on our fainting nags three or four hours a day: even at this slow pace they fall occasionally, injuring the baggage and causing delay; this inconvenience has just afforded me some amusement, from witnessing the simple habits of the people. After ascending a range of mountains, and descending by a steep track through a highly picturesque pass, we

arrived, in four hours from Dollomon, at a beautiful ravine in the mountains, where we found a few wicker huts, and near them for the first time we pitched our tent, in order to depasture the horses on the scanty herbage around us. The huts were searched for barley, as had been every tent on the way; here, in one alone, we found some, which the owner did not wish to part with, it being his last store. Money was refused, but the little stock was at last given to us, as well as some bread newly baked, and in return we gave a joint and the head of a kid, which we had bought and killed on the road; a little gunpowder and a present to the boy completed this friendly barter, and I just arrived in time to witness the excitement amongst the half-starved horses, whose impatience at seeing each nose-bag receiving its portion of corn was most amusing.

At this little place of Beenajah-cooe we found ample occupation, until it was too late to ramble among the overhanging rocks. We had seen around us for two miles tombs excavated in the cliffs, and one which we passed near the road was highly ornamented as a temple, cut out of the rock, similar to the many I had seen in Lycia, and described at Telmessus. This specimen had triglyphs, and in its pediment were two shields: I regret that we did not make careful drawings of it, but our guide assured us that thousands of better ones were around the village a mile or two in advance. *Thousands* is in the East used as an indefinite number, but in this instance it was probably no exaggeration,

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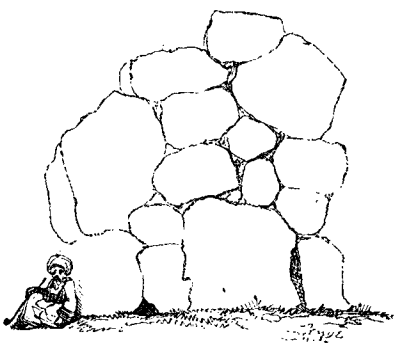
for tombs appeared on every cliff as we travelled eastward up this beautiful valley.

Geological causes have generally given the first features to the country; and here the division between the changing rocks was marked by a valley, formed probably in some degree by a river, which almost always finds its course at these transition points. On our left, the comparatively round mountains of a schisty serpentine were stained with an ochrey red earth, and wooded with pines; while those on our left were gray, with the silvery crags of the marble range enriched by their peculiar stains of orange, red, and yellow; on every ledge were varieties of luxuriant vegetation. Behind us was the Gulph of Macry, with its numerous gray islands scattered on the blue sea, and the whole scene was backed by the distant mountains of the south coast of Caria, raising their snowy peaks into the sky.

Our guide in these mountain excursions is generally any peasant whom we meet by chance in the woods. The man now attending us has his gun, and seems to live by it, or rather it appears his only occupation; he professes to know every hole in the mountains, having long pursued his sportsman's life in the neighbourhood, and offers to accompany us as far as Macry; his pay is a present of about sixpence a day, and he eats with the men. I have observed a striking feature in the character of these men: on being hired, they always say, by way of showing their independence, "I have no mother; I can go anywhere with you; no one depends

upon me." These anecdotes serve to mark the devotional respect to parents, which I noticed so often on my former visit. Our present guide, who wears sandals exactly like those seen in the antique figures, led us

high into the crags which we had seen above us, where we found the greatest collected number of cave-tombs. Here, between two ridges of rocks, was the commanding site of an ancient city. Many large squared stones lie in heaps down the slope facing the east, and the



valley is guarded by walls of a very early date of Greek workmanship. Huge irregular masses of rocks form

the lower parts of these early Cyclopean fabrics, and are piled into the face of the protruding rocks below; while the upper part, of smaller unwrought stones, is packed in with still smaller. This mode of construction is doubtless of earlier date than the Pelasgic walls, so generally seen in the cities of this district. The crown of the high mountain peaks on the south had been also surrounded by walls of the same kind, and in some instances the gothic-formed sarcophagi were carved out of the protruding peaks of the rock; the heavy top alone added to form the sepulchre.

In my former rambles in Asia Minor I observed that each district had a peculiarity in the architecture of its tombs, and that none was more distinctly marked than that of the ancient Lycia. The four kinds of tombs represented in the annexed Plate, I have found, are peculiar to Lycia, and may serve in part as tests of the extent of that country. I shall call these the Obelisk, the Gothic, and the Elizabethan forms; the first from its appearance, and the latter as strongly resembling the architectural styles so named. With these forms I have generally found the Lycian language connected, and two or more of them appear in every ancient city found in that district*. Applying this architectural test, I at once determined this to be a city within the confines of Lycia, and as such could be

* The tombs selected for this Plate are from Antiphellus, Tlos, and Xanthus.

Drawn by Charles Fellows Esq.

Etched by O. Scharf, Jun.

none else but the ancient Calynda, which, according to Herodotus*, was beyond the boundaries of Caria, the early inhabitants of which district are represented as pursuing and expelling the foreign gods from their country, and "stopping not until they came to the mountains of Calynda." This range must have been the one down whose beautiful valleys we had for some hours been travelling. Calynda, if this was the site of the city, was high up in the mountains, but not far from the sea, where it probably had its port, as we know that it supplied ships to the fleet of Xerxes. From the situation and remains of the city, I conclude that it cannot have been very large, but, from its remaining tombs, it may have existed for many generations, and probably at an early period.

To feel surprise at the ordinary occurrences in nature may often bespeak my ignorance, but for the information of those who do not study natural history, I shall nevertheless mention as I proceed whatever may strike me as unusual or curious. Some weeks ago, at Naslee, I mentioned having seen a small green frog† sitting on a sunny bank of sand, and apparently deserting the water; I here saw another of the same kind, some feet above the ground, sitting against the stem of a dead shrub, as thick as my little finger. I called to my companions to come and see a frog in a tree, as a fish out of water. On being noticed, the little fel-

* Clio, 172.

† *Rana arborea.*

low, to our surprise, leaped upon a thinner and higher branch, and again upon the point of a twig not thicker than a crow-quill, and sat there swinging, with all his legs together, like the goats on the pointed rocks above us, or as the bears sit upon their pole at the Zoological Gardens in London. On inquiry I find that this description of frog always frequents the trees; it is seldom in the water, and enjoys basking in the hottest places. Some fine moths and butterflies are coming out, and I regret the impossibility of collecting insects on an equestrian tour in so rough a country; it affords a fine field for the study of this and every other branch of natural history.

Macry, April 6th.—This little port, which stands amidst the ruins of the ancient Telmessus, is more interesting, on examination, than I fancied it could be from my hasty survey two years ago; but its strongest feature of interest is its tombs. I have now been tempted to sketch many more, by their picturesque position and form; but I find most of them are covered with inscriptions, many of which have become illegible from the decomposition of the stone, as well as from the nature of the rocks themselves, which when first wrought must have had an irregular surface from its conglomerate formation. I observe that, to remedy this, it has been in many places plastered over before it was inscribed. The inscriptions on the tombs cut in the rocks are again rendered more imperfect by the filtering waters from above, which depositing their sta-

lactitic matter encrust the whole surface. I have, however, deciphered many upon the different tombs, and some on pedestals built into the mysterious walls which stand along the coast. The following is from the side of the door of a built tomb, not far from the sea.

ΕΛΕΝΗΗΚΑΙ
ΑΦΦΙΟΝΝΑϹΟ
ΝΟϹΤΟΥΔΙΟ
ΓΕΝΟΥϹΤΕΛ
ΜΗϹϹΙϹΤΟΜΝΗ
ΜΕΙΟΝΚΑΤΕϹΚΕΥΑϹΕΝ
ΕΑΥΤΗΚΑΙΟΙϹΑΥ
ΤΗΕΝΕΘΑΨΕΝΑΠΟΛ
ΛΩΝΙΔΘΔΥΙΩΑΥΤΗϹ
ΚΑΙΕΛΕΝΗΓΗΚΑΙΔΦΟΙ
ΝΕΓΓΟΝΗΑΥΤΗϹ ΑΜΗΔΕ
ΜΗΔΕΝΝΕΞΕΙΝΑΙΕΝΤΩ
ΠΥΡΓΙϹΚΩΙΕΟΗΝΑΜΙΕ
ΤΑΤΟΕΝΤΑΦΗΝΑΙΑΥΤΗΝ
ΕΠΕΙΟΘΕΙϹΤΙΝΑΑϹΕ
ΒΗϹΕϹΓΩΘΕΟΙϹΚΑΤΑ
ΘΟΝΙΟΙϹΚΑΙΕΚΤΟΣ
ΟΦΕΙΛΕΤΩΤΩΤΕΛ
ΜΗϹϹΕΩΝΔΗ
ΜΩ✱ /Ε*

* *Translation.*—"Helene, who is also [called] Apphion (Appia), the daughter of Nason, the son of Diogenes, a woman of Telmessus, has erected this monument for herself and for those whom [?] she has [already] buried there, Apollonides her son, and Helene, also called Apphion, her grand-daughter. But it shall not be lawful

I subjoin another, which was built into one of the walls referred to above.

ΜΑΡΚΟΣΑΥΡΗΕΡΜΑΓΟΡΑΣΟ
ΚΑΙΖΩΣΙΜΟΣΥΙΟΣΜΑΡΚΑΥΡ
ΕΡΜΑΓΟΡΑΔΙΣΜΑΡΩΝΑΣΤΟΥΔΙ
ΟΦΑΝΟΥΣΤΕΛΜΗΣΣΕΥΣ
ΝΕΙΛΕΣΑΣΤΟΝΑΠΑΝΑΤΩΝ
ΠΡΟΚΛΗΙΑΝΕΙΩΝΑΠΕΝΕΙΩΝ
ΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΙΟΝΤΗΝΤΕΤΑΡΤΗΝΘΕ
ΜΙΝΑΓΩΝΟΘΕΤΟΥΝΤΟΣΔΙΑΡΙΟΥ
ΤΟΥΑΞΙΟΛΟΓΩΤΛΑΥΛΥΚΙΑΡΧΟΥ
ΜΑΡΔΟΜΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥΣΤΕΛΜΗΣ
ΣΕΩΣ*

From the circumstance of the fragments of Greek workmanship being used as rough material, and the quantity and nature of the cement, these walls were probably of Roman, or possibly of Venetian date. To

for anybody to put [another] into the turret, after I am myself buried there, as he who puts in another shall be impious unto the gods of hell, and besides pay to the people of the Telmesseans 5000 denarii."

* *Translation.*—"Marcus Aurelius Hermagoras, also [called] Zosimus, son of Marcus Aurelius Hermagoras, twice [*i. e.* grandson] of Maro [?], the son of Diophanes, a citizen of Telmessus, having won in the pancration, the fourth prize, which he contested with the youths who had challenged him [?]; there being Agonothetes, [patron of public games] for his lifetime, the most excellent Lyciarches, Marcus Domitius Philippus [?], a citizen of Telmessus."

In this inscription I must remark that the **O**, **Θ**, **Φ**, are diamond-shaped.

me the inscriptions acquired increased interest from finding several in the Lycian characters, which I had seen so generally used in the city of Xanthus*. In the frontier towns of Lycia I had hoped to have found some bilingual inscriptions, but have not yet succeeded in this pursuit. Among the coins found here, I have many belonging to this country, and to the neighbouring Rhodian colonies on the coast of the Peræa. These may assist in throwing some light upon the history of this interesting portion of Asia Minor.

The peculiarities in the architectural detail are very remarkable in these early specimens of represented buildings in the rocks. They show distinctly the imitation of wooden structures, and, by the nature of the joints, ties and mouldings, give a perfect insight into the knowledge of the construction of ancient Greek buildings. The panelled doors, with bossed nails on the styles, knockers suspended from lions' mouths, and other ornaments in the panels, also show much taste and accuracy of execution. Those tombs here which would rank among the great divisions or orders of architecture, are of the Ionic, and evidently in its earliest or simplest form; I have seen none of the Doric. It is remarkable that this district, which is part of the ancient Doris, exhibits several peculiar features in its architecture, but none of the so-called Doric. I remember being struck by a similar coincidence at Corinth; not a

* These are shown on Plate XXXVI. at the end of this volume.

fragment of the Corinthian style was to be found, and a ruined temple of the plain Doric stands conspicuously on the site of the ancient city. In some instances bas-reliefs remain on the sarcophagi, and these are always of an early, simple, and good age; I have seen no trace of the inferior art of the Romans, or of later times; the coins also show the purest style of Greek art.

ΙΑΗΣΚΑΛΙΝΓΙΥ
ΠΑΛΙΕΗΤΝΟ
ΊΟΕΣΤΗΑΤΩΝΑΥ
///ΤΑΚΑΛΛΜΕΜ
ΔΑΝΙΟΣΔΙΟΓΝ///
ΑΝΝΤΗΔΙΟΝΝ///*

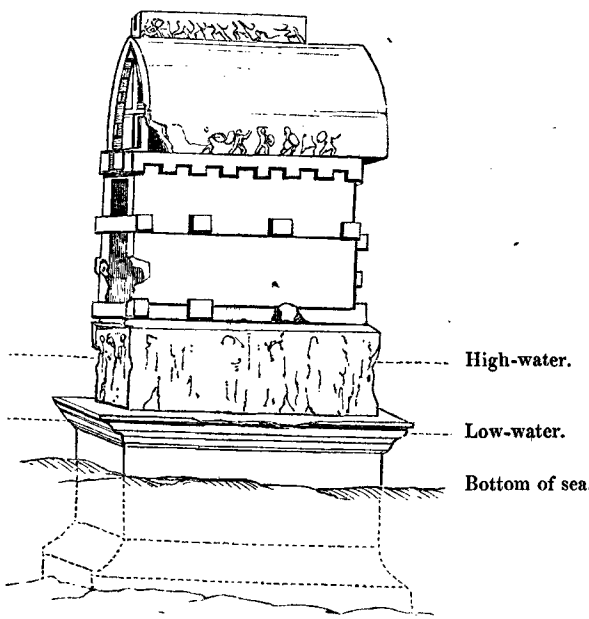
Macry, April 7th.—Yesterday we were weather-bound; the rain fell heavily the whole day, and gave us an opportunity of pursuing our occupations within our little lodging. I am sorry to find my collection of plants is badly preserved; they increase so rapidly, that from

* In the third line we may decipher the words, "he superintended the games."

the constant moisture of the paper they soon discolour and decay. We occupied our time also in arranging sketches and obtaining information as to ruins in the neighbourhood from the Greeks, who each had coins for sale, all found in cities at present unmapped and unknown by us. I fear my time will allow me but imperfectly to visit Lycia alone, for this small district abounds in the works of its former highly civilized people.

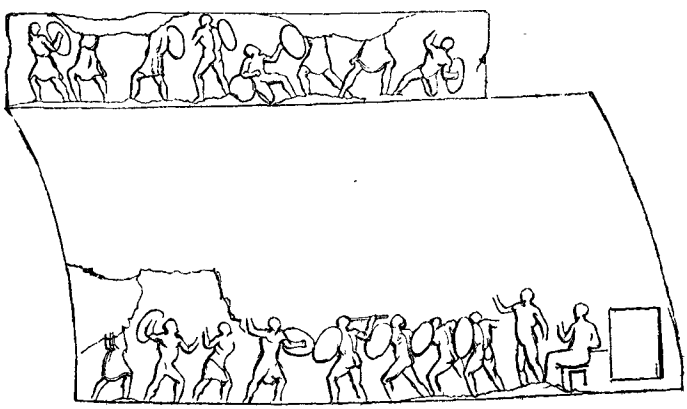
Hoozumlee, April 7th.—We have just arrived at six o'clock this evening, and escaped a tremendous storm, which is now thundering as it wraps its clouds around the mountains above us. I despaired of fine weather at Macry, knowing its peculiar situation, and, contrary to the opinion of my servant, I persisted in quitting the place, although the rain was falling in large drops. I had noticed the effects caused in the atmosphere at Macry when last there, and during the three days at this season the same causes produce their effects. The warm westerly wind has each morning brought with it showers from over the sea; and no sooner do they pass the bay, than the colder current of air coming down from the central country about noon drives back the clouds, and the showers are repeated. The eddying of the atmosphere during the hot weather, only produced partial condensation of clouds, and the heated winds were driven back towards the sea. The wind, although varying during the morning and night, has always for two or three hours at noon changed to the north-east,

and the prediction of a stranger respecting the weather would probably be little worthy the character of the ancient soothsayers of Telmessus. The peculiar situation of the bay of Macry may also account for the changes in the elevation of its waters; but from inquiry, and from observing the equal and permanent marks upon the stones and rocks caused by the sea, I ascertained that there is here felt a change which may almost be mistaken for a tide, probably occasioned by the regular winds. In many places I have visited in the Mediterranean, there is certainly no tide perceptible. I was noticing a curious gage for the waters on the fine sarcophagus seen standing in the sea, which is on

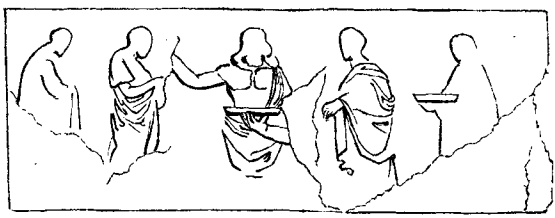


many accounts an interesting monument for contemplation; the subjoined sketch will show the present level of the sea, by the high- and low-water marks, which vary about two feet, as well as that of the surface of the ground.

From many other tombs precisely similar in form, and which I have seen and sketched in various cities in Lycia, I venture to supply the base, which I doubt not lies buried in the earth; thus making this tomb a register of a great change in the level of the ground, while its massive top, shaken from its original position, indicates an earthquake to have been the cause of such change. As a work of art amongst an early and refined people, it also stands a valuable monument; but time has partially veiled its history, for the bas-reliefs only suggest an outline of more simple beauty than is found in any age but that of the purest of Greek art.



The fragmental sketches of the bas-reliefs also may show this.



On leaving Macry, we crossed the valley towards the north-east, and continued in that direction ascending for three hours and a half through a beautiful pass along the side of a torrent, which leaped continually from rock to rock in its rapid course; but our ascent was still steeper, for the river was often rolling in a ravine many hundred feet below us. The waters of the stream diminished as we proceeded, and on our reaching the little plain of this village, they appeared to claim it as their birth-place.

The well-cultivated valley of Hoozumlee was as unexpected to us at such an elevation, which by the thermometer exceeds two thousand feet, as was the population and well-built village. The latter has three or four mosques, and is wholly inhabited by Turks; one Greek alone is here, who is employed in keeping in repair the various water-courses for the supply of the fountains from the lofty and craggy mountains which rise immediately at the back of the village. We are

at the house of the Aga, and have witnessed a curious scene each evening. It is seldom that thirty men so handsome in form, feature and dress, assemble in the same room; they are probably the principal people of the place. Not a taint of European costume is yet seen here; scarcely a man has ever left his mountain district, and everything about us was novel to them. I doubt whether in any other part of the world such a spirit of inquiry and quickness of comprehension would be met with in a similar village group. Our knives, instruments, pencils, Indian rubber and paints, were examined, and tolerably well understood by most of the party. The pencil I gave to one was soon employed in writing a sentence in the Turkish language, which I found was the date of our arrival, and the name of the writer of the memorandum. We then wrote something in English, which was copied in facsimile, well and quickly executed. The remarks were natural expressions of wonder, but all showing reflection. The washing, the prayer, the dinner, and the reading aloud the firman, were each subjects for an artist. Our sketch-books were a great source of astonishment to all; some looked at them the wrong way upwards, but all said "Allah, Allah!" They recognized in the sketches the mosques, camels, birds, and a frog, with the greatest expressions of delight.

April 8th.—Our attraction to this place was the report that ruins existed in the neighbourhood. We therefore started at eight o'clock this morning to as-

cend the mountain to the south. Scarcely beyond the south-east end of the village, and in less than ten minutes, we found among the bushes a tomb of the most usual kind cut in the rocks, resembling our Elizabethan domestic architecture. This tomb has been much shaken to pieces, apparently by an earthquake, but the detail of its execution we found to be of the highest interest. I do not hesitate in placing this fragment in the finest age of Greek work; it shows by the simplest effects the full expression of the history and ideas of the sculptured figures. Had they been all perfect, its value in a museum, either for the philologist, antiquarian or artist, would be inestimable. We made drawings of a portion*, and sketches in outline of the whole, which I think will bear out this opinion of them as works of art, and may afford an idea of some of its bas-reliefs.

Great additional interest is given to these groups by the circumstance of several of the figures having over them their names, after the manner of the Etruscan; these inscriptions are in the Lycian language, and some bilingual with the Greek; this I trust will materially assist in throwing light upon our ignorance as to the Lycian language, and these sculptures may also be important illustrations. The bas-reliefs shown in the annexed Plate formed the upper part or panels of the sides of the tomb, beneath which were groups of

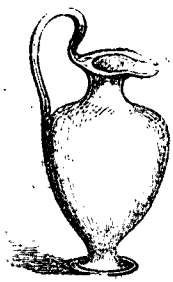
* See Plate I. opposite the Title-page.

SOUTH SIDE.

Drawn & Etched by G. Scharf Junr

larger figures engaged in combat, with arms of the simplest age of the Greeks. These figures were too much buried in the earth for us to attempt to sketch them. The name of ΕΚΤΩΡ was written over one with a helmet, round shield, and spear. Above the side-panels, and probably on what once formed the roof, were also the remains of five sculptured figures, of a similar size to the combatants below. The panel of the door in front shows a figure about five feet six inches in height.

The costumes, arms, vases and utensils, displayed in these bas-reliefs, are a study for the man of refined taste: the height of some of the figures in the background is unaccountable.



Continuing for about a mile a steep ascent, we saw around us immense masses of rock rolled from their original position, and some containing excavated tombs, now thrown on their sides or leaning at angles, which must have caused the disentombment of their dead. The sculptured architecture of many had been split across, and but few remained uninjured in the cliffs. I sought in vain for inscriptions on any of the tombs around, probably twenty in number; their architecture was purely Lycian, and evidently of the same date as the one just described as found in the valley below. A splendid sarcophagus cut from the rock was tottering over the brow of a precipice before me: the position at which this tomb now stands appears so unnatural, that I have accurately sketched it. The outlines of its bas-reliefs, which are shown in the annexed Plate, as well

NORTH SIDE

SOUTH SIDE

Drawn & Etched by G. Scharf Junr.

TOMB AT CADYANDA.

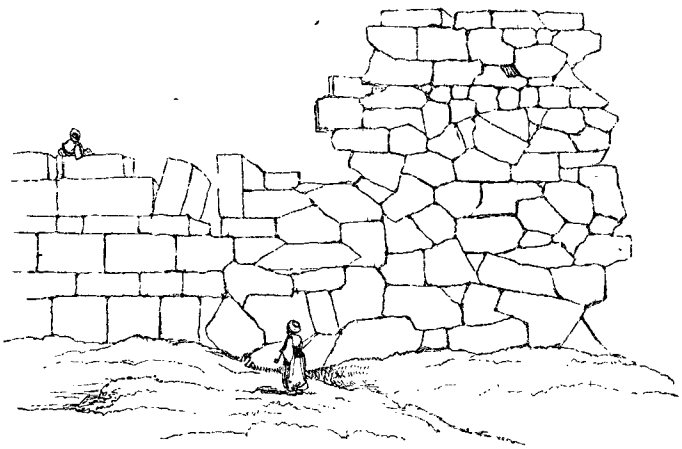
as its form, indicate its age to be that of the Lycians, and, in the absence of inscriptions, must suffice to tell its history: the figures are nearly the size of life. If inscriptions had ever existed upon these tombs, the surface has so much perished by the atmosphere, that they would have probably been lost or illegible; for I observe that all inscriptions of this age are slightly cut, and never form a part of, or interfere with, the effect of the groups or architecture. All the indications in the approach to this unknown city were Lycian, not omitting the remains of ingeniously built Cyclopean walls.

Ascending for half an hour a steep scarcely accessible on horses, we arrived at an elevation of about three thousand five hundred feet above the sea, which lay before us. The view was overwhelmingly beautiful. To the south-west lay the Bay of Macry, with its islands and the coast of the south of Caria, while beyond lay the long and mountainous island of Rhodes. Cragus, with its snowy tops, broke the view towards the south, and the coast and sea off Patara measured its elevation by carrying the eye down to the valley of the Xanthus, whose glittering waters were visible for probably seventy miles, until lost in the range of high mountains, upon a part of which we were standing; in this chain it has its rise in the north. The crags of limestone around us were almost concealed by a forest of fir-trees and green underwood. Before us was the city, surrounded by beautiful Cyclopean walls.

The scattered stones of a fallen temple next inter-

rupted our path, on the way to the stadium: neither of its ends remained, and I feel sure that they have never been built up with seats, as seen in some of probably a later date. To the right of this stadium was the agora; eight squared pillars or piers stand on either side. For nearly a quarter of a mile the ground was covered like a mason's yard with stones well squared, parts of columns, cornices, triglyphs and pedestals, and here and there stood still erect the jambs of the doors of buildings whose foundations alone are to be traced. Near the stadium some large walls with windows are still standing, and enclose some places, which have probably been for public amusements. The city is in many parts undermined by chambers cut in the rocks, and arched over with fine masonry: these no doubt were the basements or vaults of the large buildings of the town, or may have served for its stores of provisions; at present they are the wonder and terror of the peasants, who relate, that in one great vault into which they had entered there were seven doors, all leading in different directions. This report has given the name of Yeddy Cappolee, meaning 'seven doors,' to the ruins, as well as to the mountain on which they stand. We descended towards the west, and came to the upper seats of a beautiful little theatre, in high preservation, a few large fir-trees alone interrupting the effect of the semicircle of seats. The proscenium was a heap of ruins, only one or two of its door-ways being left standing. The form of the theatre was like those in the east

of Caria: in front were the Cyclopean walls of the city, blended with the more regular Greek, and evidently



constructed at the same period. From this spot, for a quarter of a mile, were tombs, neither cut in the rocks, nor sarcophagi, nor of the usual architecture of Lycia, but of a heavy, peculiar, and massive style of building, not generally associated with our ideas of the Greek: there was no trace of bas-reliefs or ornaments, and not a letter of the Lycian character among the numerous inscriptions, which were Greek, and much injured by time. I copied the following among others *, which are of interest, as in them I discovered the name of the city to be Cadyanda (ΚΑΔΥΑΝΔΕΩΝ).

* The inscriptions here referred to are inserted in the Appendix to this volume.

ΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣ ΛΑΑΟΓΤΟΥ
ΕΑΥΤΗΚΑΙΘΥΓΑΤΡΙΚΑΙΕΓ ΝΕ¯Γ
ΝΩΝΜΟΥΓΕΝΝΗΘΗΣΟΜ ΙΣΚΑΑΩ Ν
ΕΑΝΔΕΤΙΣΕΙΣΒΙΑΣΗΤΑΙΚΑ ¯ΩΚΕΙΣΕΙΚ ΥΑΝΔΕΩΝ
ΤΩΔΗΜΩ✠Φ *

The total difference of these tombs in style from the elegant and highly-wrought specimens nearly two miles down the side of the mountain, and the difference of language in the inscriptions, made me inquire whether any other ruins existed lower down, but I could hear of none.

Returning to the village, we found the principal people again assembled to see us, and all we had to show them. We learned that no European had before been up to see the ruins, but that some Franks had last year been as far as their village, and had bought some coins; eight or nine I found in the possession of a man who had picked them up in the ruins. Hoping to learn from them something of the ancient city, I told my servant to buy them, and he was in a violent rage at the exorbitant price demanded; in his passion he forgot his nation, and said a Turk would never think of asking such a price, and that the owner of them was an imposing rogue. I found this man was the solitary Greek, whose occupation of digging drains had led him to dis-

* *Translation.*—"This monument erected ..... for herself and her daughter, and grand-children and those who shall be born of them. ..... But if any one shall violate [the tomb], he shall pay to the People of the Cadyandeans five hundred denarii."

cover the coins: he was anxious to get all he could, but like a Greek, he took less than half he had at first asked.

April 9th.—After a lovely ride for about fifteen miles to the south-east, over a woody range of mountains, and descending into the valley of the Xanthus, we arrived at the village of Hoorahn. For three or four miles before we crossed the main branch of the river, we traversed the well-cultivated and productive district called Sarzarkee, passing a tomb cut in the rock on the road-side, and bearing a fragment of a Lycian inscription. Crossing the muddy stream which gives the colour and name to the Xanthus river, and riding for nearly a mile through a bushy swamp, we came to a rock rising fifteen or twenty feet above the plain, and about a mile from the village of Hoorahn. This rock was cut in all directions with tombs, many of them being of a style of architecture differing from those we had before seen. Several I have sketched, and from one have copied a few Greek letters, which are upon the panels of a door cut in the rock.

O P	O P
Θ A	Θ A Γ O
Γ O	POY *

The following small fragment I hope will assist in giving a name to these ruins.

* "[The tomb] of Orthagoras."

ΚΩC
ΕΤΗC
ΕΙΜΑCΕΙ
ΔΕΙΛΤΕΥΩ *

Immediately before arriving at the village, we passed another burial-ground of the ancient city, but the natural rock was not here so favourable for architectural excavation, and hundreds of broken sarcophagi lay half buried in the ground; in fact, many of them had the grave within the rock, scarcely above the surface, and the cavity had been covered with a lid of a peculiar form, having a tablet for inscription raised on its roof, which could not be placed in the usual position, upon the side of the sarcophagus itself; the Greek characters could be traced upon them, but they were too much injured by time to be deciphered. The ancient city, whose site is now occupied by the village and its surrounding fields, had a fine and singular situation; it was slightly raised above the valley of the Xanthus, and appears to have commanded a ravine or gorge in the mountains at its back, down which gushes a large and extremely rapid river of clear water, and, running towards the south-west, soon joins, or almost forms, the river Xanthus: the small muddy stream which waters the valley from its commencement towards the north, and from the sandy colour of which it derives its name,

* This seems to be a fragment of a public decree in honour of a public-spirited citizen of Maseicytus.

forms but a diminutive portion, as compared with the river now roaring under our hut.

Of the ancient city but little remains; the higher part has been surrounded by a fine Cyclopean wall, although the large irregular stones composing it were chiselled round their edges, forming the cushion-shaped fronts used in many of the early Greek buildings, and since adopted by the Italians; this mode is termed, I believe, *rusticated.* The basement and walls of several other buildings are also still standing, and a number of broken columns and pedestals show the remains of an ornamented city. From one of them I copied an inscription, but I fear that it will throw no light upon the name of the ancient city.

ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣΖ
ΦΑΝΟΣΤΟΙΣΤΟ
ΠΑΤΡΟΣΑΥΤΟΥΔΑΙ
ΜΟΣΙ

ΛΥΡΟCΤΕΦΑΝΟΙ
ΕΡΜΟΛΥΚΟΥ
ΚΑΤΕCΚΕΥΑ
CΕΝΚΑΙΕΠΕ
ΓΡΑΨΕΝΜΕΤΙ
ΤΟΕΝΤΑΦΗΝΕ
CΜΕΕΙCΤΗΝΥΓ
CΤΟΑΙΚΗΥ *

ΙΠΟΙΑΛΙΔΑΕΙΠΕ
▨▨▨ΗΠΙΝΑ
▨▨▨▨▨CΕΙ
▨▨▨▨▨Ο

* *Translation.*—"Aurelius Stephanus to the spirit of his father. Aurelius Stephanus, the son of Hermolycus, has built and inscribed it After burying me in the urn . . . . . ."

Contrary to custom, this inscription seems to have been written in

In the yard of one house we were taken to see some beautiful pavements, formed in elegant patterns, with small different-coloured slabs of marble. These pavements had formed the floors of three different apartments, each probably not more than eight feet square, and all very near together; one was of small stones, of the size, and quite similar in arrangement to, the Roman mosaic: these buildings, from their dimensions, can have been only baths.

I have obtained but few coins here, for the people only preserve silver or gold ones, which may serve as ornaments; they have never before had visitors to see their ruins, and cannot understand our motives for seeking copper coins, or for travelling. They tell us that their country is filled with ruins; and we have this morning been a ride and laborious walk up a mountain, nearly at the upper extremity of the valley, in search of old cities: there are, however, only the traces of some rude Cyclopean walls around the craggy summit of the hill; the absence of other buildings and tombs leads me to suppose it to have been only a fortified castle on the eastern side of the valley: directly opposite to this, on the west side, was a point covered with similar ruins.

Our excursion today of six miles has given us a more perfect idea of the valley; we have at least

two columns, of which that on the right probably contained the usual provisions against any one else besides the proprietor's family being buried in the tomb.

ascertained that nothing more is to be found in this direction, and are now satisfied that our research commenced at its northern extremity: tomorrow we intend to pursue our route down its course to the south-west.

CHAPTER VI.

Architecture; Rocks, Buildings, Cottages, Granaries—Tlos—Rock-tombs—Ancient Sculpture—Minara, the ancient Pinara—Ruins—Bas-reliefs in Tombs—Habits of the People.

April 11*th.*—I AM again much struck on entering this undisturbed district of Asia Minor, at witnessing the unchanged customs of the people; everything tells of the ancient inhabitants of two or three thousand years ago, whose mode of life probably differed but little from that of the present pastoral people.

The annexed sketch (Plate IX.*) will show the varieties of rock-architecture†, and the one following, those in the built tombs seen in Lycia. I have selected these from my sketches made in the various cities, but placing them less thickly in the rock than they are often seen in this country, and have added figures referring to their several localities. The cottage or hut is precisely

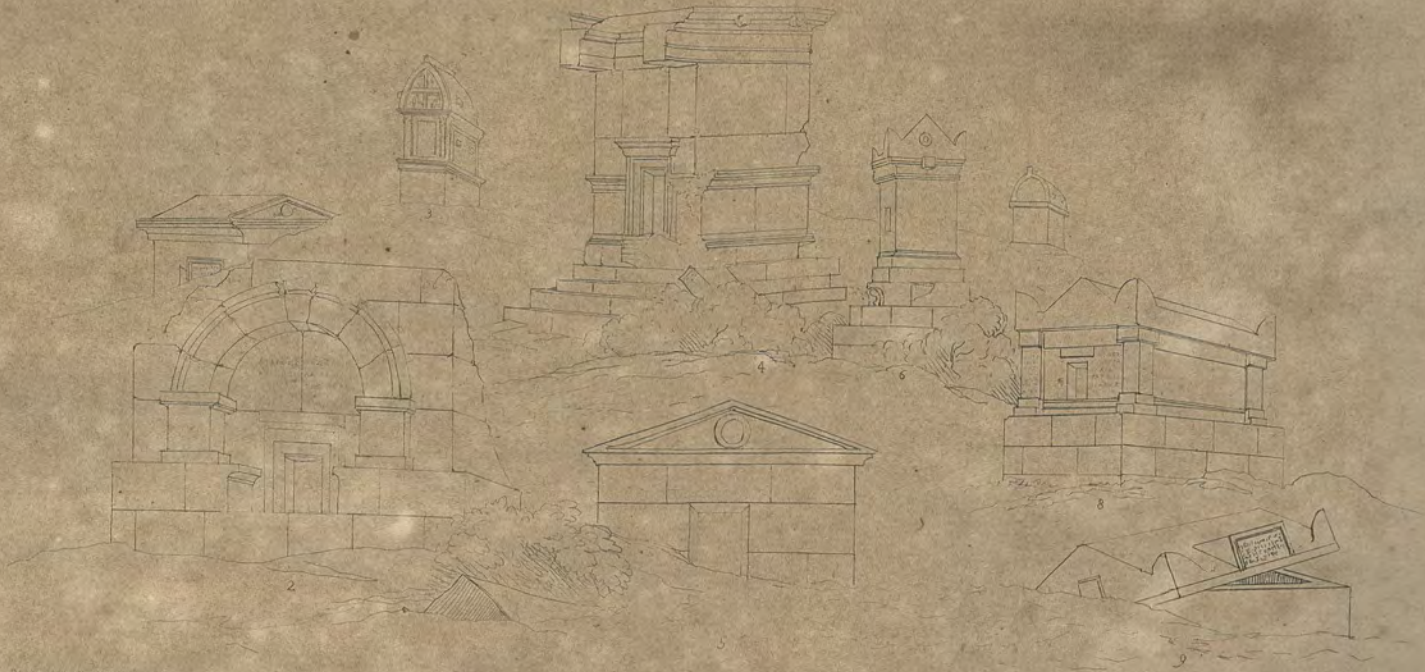
* Nos. 1 and 6 at Massicytus; 2, 3 and 4 at Telmessus; 5 and 8 at Tlos; 7, 9 and 12 at Pinara; 10 between Limyra and Arycanda; and 11 at Limyra.

† Plate X. Nos. 1 and 8 at Telmessus; 2 and 5 at Cadyanda; 3 at Xanthus; 4 and 6 at Sidyma; 7 at Calynda; and 9 at Massicytus.

Drawn by Charles Fellows Esq.

Etched by G. Scharf Junr.

VARIETIES OF ROCK ARCHITECTURE IN LYCIA.



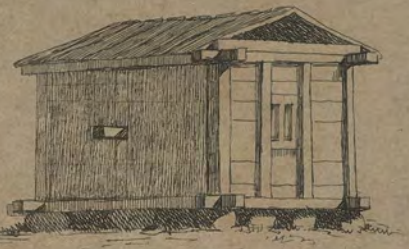
Drawn by Chas Fallows Esq.

Etched by C. Scharf Junr.

VARIETIES OF BUILT TOMBS

HUTS OF THE TURKS.

HUT OF THE GREEK.



GRANARIES OR STORE HOUSES OF THE PEASANTS.

Drawn by Chas Fellows Esq.

Etched by C. Scharf Junr.

BUILDINGS IN THE VALLEY OF THE XANTHUS.

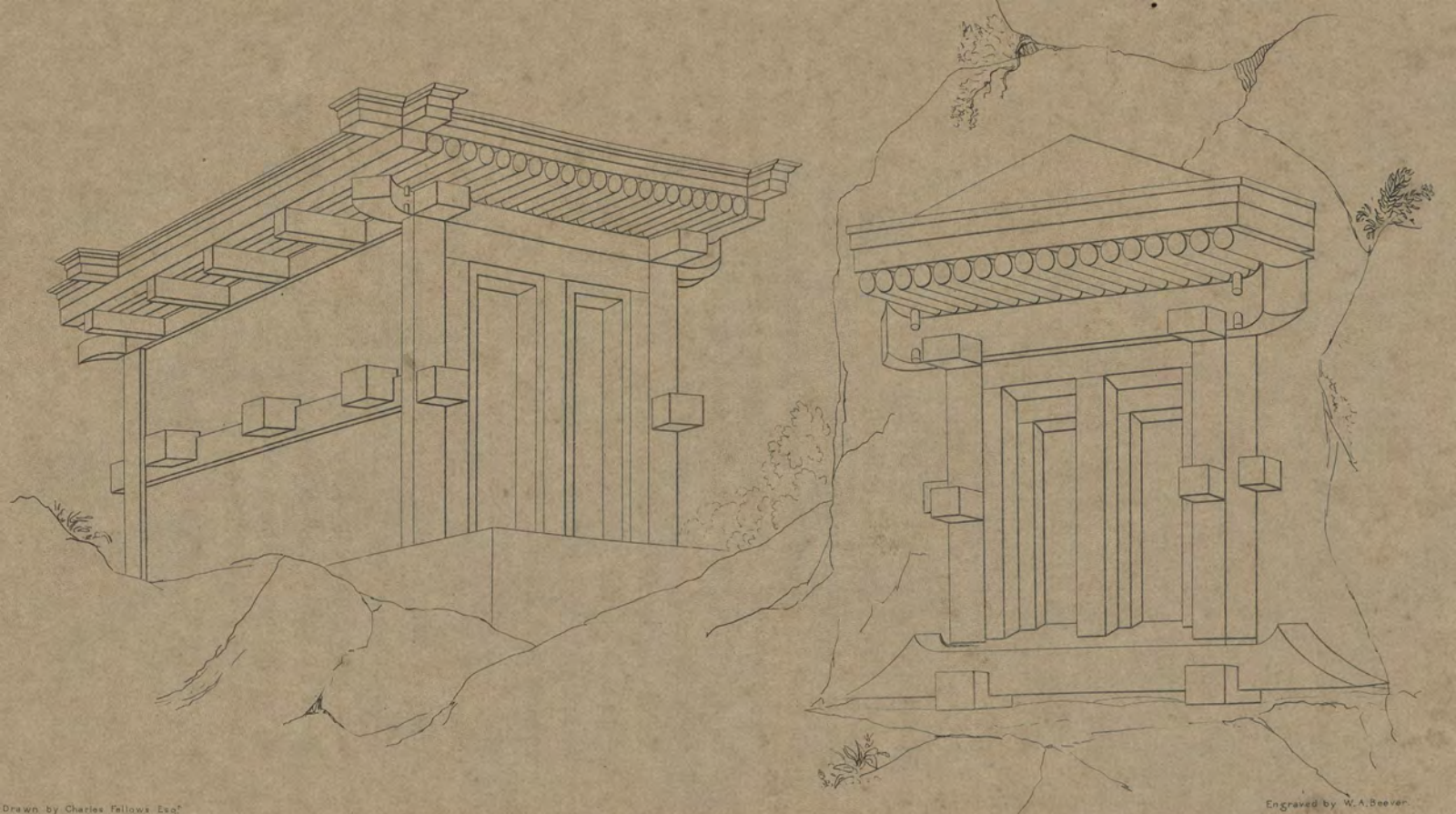
a model for a temple; and the various kinds (for all have the same character) suggest each some form or order, whose peculiarity has become classic and scientific: it is here only perpetuated, and not adopted, by the present peasants.

The storehouses, large box-like barns, in which the grain and property is preserved, are throughout this district seen, and recognized by me, as precisely similar, in form and detail of apparent construction of ties and bolts, to the Elizabethan description of tombs so commonly cut in the rocks around them. These modern barns are generally slightly roofed; the gable or pediment supports a pole at each of its angles, the ends commonly protruding beyond the roof, which is of thin planks, laid one over the other, and giving at the end the effect of a cornice to the pediment, the whole of which is never so well finished as the barns beneath, and appears as a temporary covering: a slight pediment is likewise often seen accompanying this form of tomb, sculptured in the rocks. The similarity of the storehouse represented in the annexed sketch to the ancient tomb is strikingly obvious; even the beam-ends may form the ornaments protruding from the angles of the pediment.

In the various cottages, the roof, which is always of earth, is held in its form by an attic of stones; upon this roof, as I have often before mentioned, the Turks keep a roller for levelling and rendering the earth water-tight; but at the edges and on the corners, where the

roller cannot press, weeds often grow luxuriantly, and this suggests the tuft-like leaf ornament so often seen in the Greek buildings rising from the edge of the roofs. The Greek generally lives in a hut built with more art and neatness, but still of a temple-like form, as may be suggested by the sketch; his hut is usually whitened, while that of the Turk is of mud, imbedding stones, sticks, or straw, as circumstances offer the material. The walls never form the strength of the house, which derives its support entirely from the framework of timbers resting upon the columns or upright stems of trees on the outside; stones placed under these, to prevent their sinking into the ground, form bases, while the beams resting upon their tops appear as capitals; in front, a stone or piece of wood is placed upon these posts, to support the ends of the beams, which are the dentils in the frieze of this simple little building.

In this portion of Asia Minor all the remains of the temples show a square chamber or cella, entered by an ornamented door of noble proportions; this is always within a portico *in antis*, sometimes having two columns in front. I have nowhere in Lycia seen any trace of temples that I could say with certainty were of other construction. This form is evidently seen in the huts here represented. Is it not highly probable, that these sketches may represent the huts and storehouses of the people of three thousand years ago, which at an after period were imitated in stone, and their forms cut in the rocks, making the temple a large house, and



Drawn by Charles Fellows Esqr

Engraved by W. A. Beever

TOMBS SCULPTURED FROM THE ROCK IN IMITATION OF WOODEN BUILDINGS.

the tomb a durable receptacle for the dead? Time has witnessed these changes; but the simple hut, which has served as the abode of the peasants through successive generations to the present day, has remained unaltered. This may at once explain the total absence of even the trace of the residence of the people in the ancient Greek cities, as the materials would not endure for half a century: the public buildings alone remain to point out the extent of the cities. I think this idea is borne out by the incidental testimony of history. Herodotus speaks of the houses of the people of Sardis as being of reeds and mud, and in still earlier days we know that the whole of Athens was built of wood.

Our ride of about twenty-four miles from Hoorahn to Dooveer was nearly due south; we crossed the smaller muddy river, where it is divided into several streams, and skirted the western side of the upper bay or enlargement of the valley, until it became narrowed into a mere strait by the green-wooded hills flanking either range of mountains. Near this point is the village of Satala Hissá or Satala-cooe, six hours to the east of Macry. Continuing our route, in half an hour we arrived at a well-built bridge of five arches, crossing the bold river, which had received the important addition from Hoorahn, as well as many other tributaries: from this point we crossed diagonally the again widening valley, and in half an hour passed a very considerable stream, on its course to the river, issuing from a ravine in the mountains towards the east, at the village of

Koongelar. At a distance of three miles from Dooveer, in passing near a rock which protruded from the mountains, we were struck by a strong sulphury smell, and saw a rapid stream of clear water running near us, whose course was encrusted with a greenish-white deposit; this hot spring issues from the rock, and I hear that the people use its waters medicinally; on first gushing from its source they have not this smell, which exudes upon exposure to the atmosphere. The whole ride down this upper valley is beautiful, and varies continually; its scenery, on approaching the bold and Greek-like situation of the ancient city of Tlos, is strikingly picturesque. Leaving our baggage at the lower village, we at once rode up to the ancient city, on the acropolis of which many families now reside: although an hour's ride distant, it also bears the name of Dooveer, the few houses in the valley consisting only of the Aga's residence and four or five water-mills.

April 13*th*.—I have had more opportunity for examining the ruins of this city than on my former visit, when from inscriptions I discovered it to be the ancient Tlos. My general impressions remain the same, and further research has only confirmed my opinion as to the taste and luxurious ornament of the ancient city. I have copied many more inscriptions, principally from the tombs, which have been most costly and curious constructions. The greater number not only have their fronts architecturally ornamented, but, on entering, we found them to have a kind of lobby,

the panelled framework being repeated within, and often ornamented in a richer style; some of these are still beautiful, but what must they have been when first executed, perhaps twenty-five centuries ago! Many of the letters of the inscriptions retain their varied colouring, and over the doors remnants of painted flowers and wreaths, red, green, and white, are still to be traced; but the most perfect historical information which is preserved to us respecting the ornaments of these tombs, is derived from the sculpture, which shows all the beauty of simple line and exquisite proportion of figure, and is sufficiently legible to be of the highest interest to the antiquarian and student of ancient mythology and history. I hope the sketches I have made may throw some light upon the subject.

From one of the tombs in the rock I copied the following inscription:

ΖΗ · ΤΟΗΡΩΟΝΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝΖΩΣΙΜΟΣ
ΝΕΙΚΗΤΙΚΟΥΒΤΟΥΛΥΣΑΝΙΟΥΤΛΩΕΥΣΕΑΥΤΩΚΑΙ
ΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΚΑΙΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΕΞΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΩΑΝΕΝ
ΓΡΑΦΩΣΣΥΝΧΩΡΗΣΗΕΑΝΔΕΤΙΣΔΙΧΑΤΟΥΣΥΝΧΩ
ΡΗΣΑΙΤΟΝΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΚΟΤΑΖΩΣΙΜΟΝΘΥΗ
ΤΙΝΑΟΦΕΙΛΗΣΕΙΤΩΙΕΡΩΤΑΤΩΤΑΜΕΙ
ΩΕΠΙΤΕΙΜΙΟΥ ✕ · /ΑΦ · ΕΑΝΔΕΣΥΝΧΩ
ΡΗΣΗΤΙΝΙΟΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΚΩΣΖΩΣΙΜΟΣΕ
ΞΕΙΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΝΟΛΑΒΩΝΤΟΣΥΝΧΩΡΗΜΑ
ΟΙΣΑΝΒΟΥΛΗΤΑΙΘΑΠΤΕΙΝ *

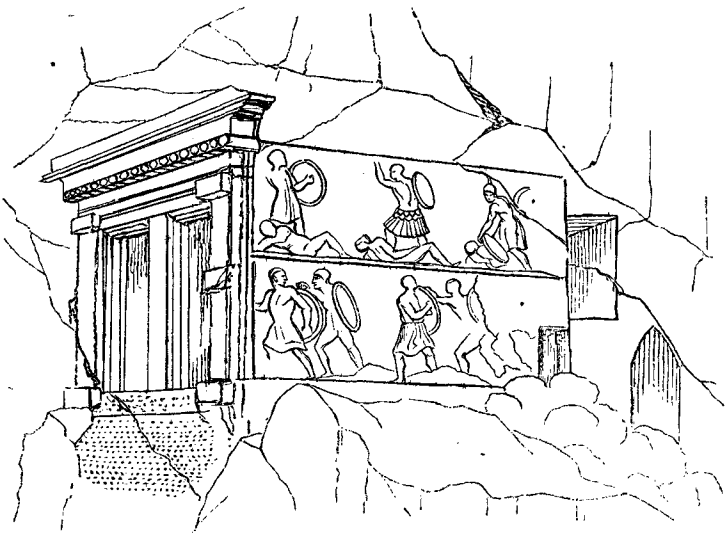
* *Translation.*—"In his life-time. Zosimus, the grandson of Niceticus, the son of Lysanias, a citizen of Tlos, has built the *Heroum*, for

The figures sculptured on the rock, are, I have no doubt, of the same age as those accompanied by the Lycian characters, but I have again sought in vain for a single letter of that language in this city. I obtained three or four coins from the children, who gladly exchanged them for half a piastre each; but the absence of travellers makes them careless of looking for them, and many hidden treasures may still remain amidst the ruins which form hills of broken fragments of stone, and pieces of pottery and glass. Among the coins I find several silver and copper ones of the ancient city.

On the side of one of the tombs cut in the rock I observed a bas-relief representing combatants engaged, apparently without swords, and pulling at each other's shields. This, which I have observed in other places, may probably represent some of the popular games. From the front of the tomb I copied the annexed inscription:

himself and his wife and his children, and their descendants, and to whomsoever he shall make a grant in writing. But if any one, without the builder Zosimus making him a grant, shall bury any one [in this tomb], he shall owe to the most holy treasury a fine of 1500 denarii. But if the builder Zosimus make a grant to any one, he that receives the grant shall have leave to bury whomsoever he likes."

In all the funeral inscriptions of Tlos, the tomb is called *Heroum*; and in one, that will be given hereafter, the deceased is called a Hero. The word in our inscription which is translated *bury*, means in Greek to *sacrifice*.



ΑΣΙΗΣ//ΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥΗΤΟΥΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥ
ΔΕΔΟΜΕΝΟΥ//ΝΧΩΡΗΜΑΤΟΣΚΥΡΕΙΑΣΕΝΠΙΤΓ
ΟΥΝ////ΟΣΤΟΥ//ΕΠΙΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΟΣΚΑΙΣΙΑΝΟΥ
ΤΟ////ΥΠΟ//ΠΟΛΛΩΝΘΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΕΙΦΗΝΑΙΟΥ
ΔΙΑΟ//ΙΣΟΣΕΘΑΠΤΑΙ//ΕΣΕΣΑΝΔΡΟΣΒΤΟΥΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥΟΠΑΤΗΡ
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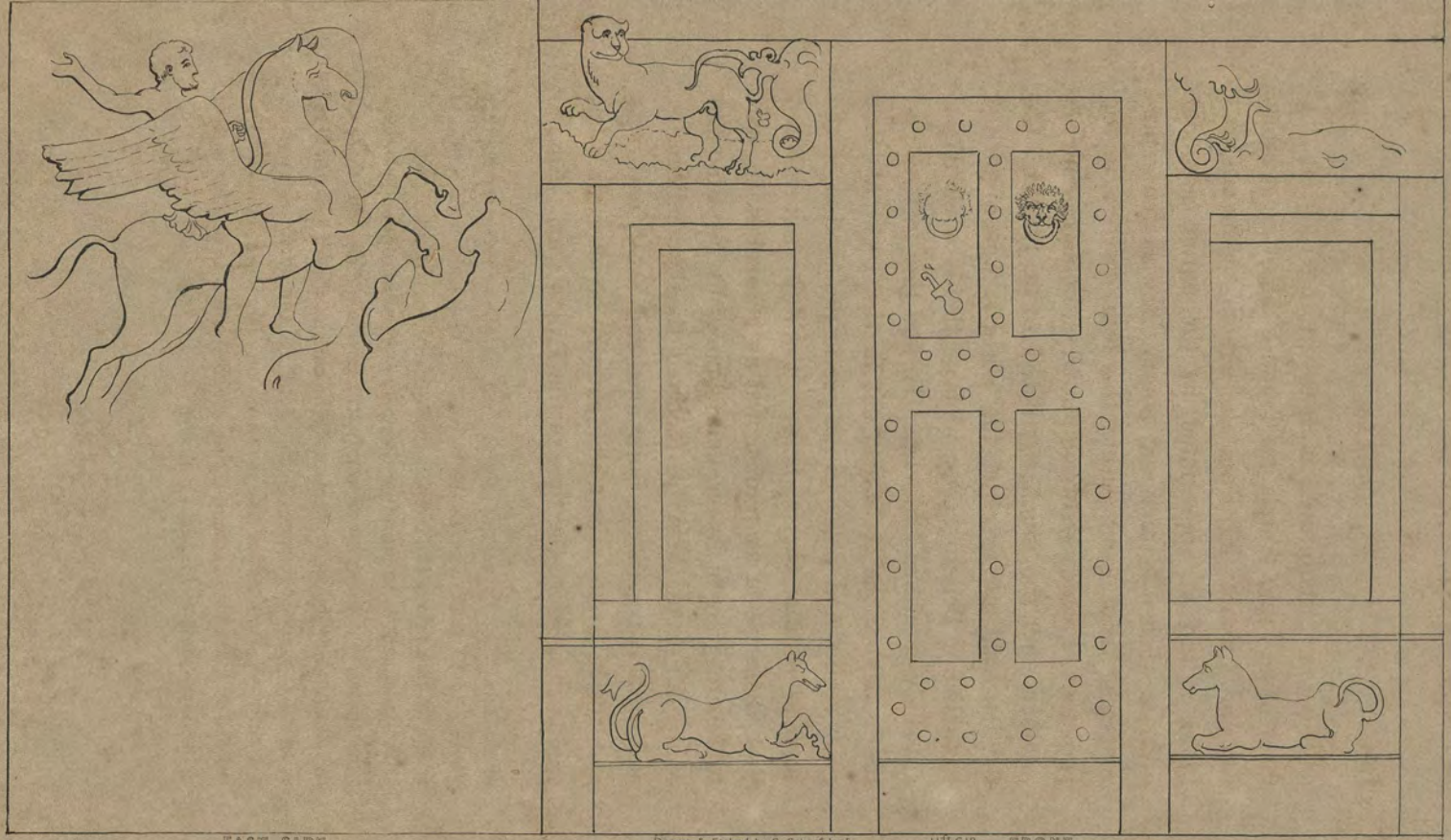
//ΡΗΝ//ΠΟΣΣΩΠΒΙΟΥΣ//Α//ΑΛΩΔΕΟΥΝΕΝΙΕΣΕΣΤΗ
ΟΑΨ////ΗΔΩΣΕΙΤΛΩΕΩΝΤΗΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑ
ΨΑΩΝΕΝ////ΣΤΟ//ΟΝΛΗΜΨΕΤΑΙ *

* *Translation.*—" [High-priestess ?] of Asia, the daughter of Alexander, the grandson of Dionysius . . . . . the cession of the property being made . . . . . under the high-priest Cæsianus . . . . . of Irenæus . . . . There has been buried Alexander, the grandson of Dionysius, her father, and her son Alexander, the son of Irenæus, and there shall be buried herself also, and her husband Irenæus, the son

The tomb, sculptured high up in the rock, in the form of an Ionic temple, we found to be of great interest, and I doubt not, from the sketch in the annexed Plate, it will be appreciated by the antiquarian and lover of ancient history and poetry: the sketch represents the inner front within the Ionic portico, in the pediment of which were sculptured animals resembling panthers, but too much mutilated to be copied. On the left side, on entering the portico, was a spirited bas-relief of Bellerophon, and beneath his horse Pegasus the vanquished Chimera. To find this in a city in the valley of the Xanthus, cut in the rock, at once gives reality and place to the poetic description of the services of this classic hero. It will be remembered that Bellerophon is represented as a royal exile, sent to Jobates king of Lycia, and favoured by Neptune and Minerva; from them he received the horse Pegasus, and with it conquered both man and beast in various combats in Lycia, over which country he afterwards became king, before the time of the Trojan war. Among

of Sosibios [?]. To no one else it shall be allowed to bury another [here], or he shall give to the Gerusia of Tlos 1500 denarii [?], of which he that proves the trespass shall receive one-third."

It is the more to be regretted that part of this inscription has disappeared, and that thus several words still remaining are without connexion, as these may have explained the curious fact of bas-reliefs representing gymnastic games being found on the tomb of a woman. Probably this Priestess of Asia was a Gymnasiarches (a munificent patroness of gymnastic games), a title which is given to another woman in an inscription at Mylasa (page 68).



EAST SIDE

Drawn & Etched by G. Scharf Junr.

11 ft 6 in FRONT

WITHIN THE PORTICO OF ROCK TOMB AT TLOS

his other conquests, in this very valley, he slew a wild boar which had destroyed the fruits and cattle of the Xanthians, but for his services he received no reward. He therefore prayed to Neptune that the fields of the Xanthians should exhale a salt dew, and be universally corrupted. This continued until Bellerophon, at the intercession of the women, again prayed to Neptune to remove the effect of his indignation. It was on this account that the women of the Xanthians were held in such high esteem, that their children ever after were named from their mothers, rather than their fathers —a custom which afterwards prevailed generally over the whole of Lycia.

April 14*th*.—We yesterday left Dooveer, and, returning across the valley for about four miles, we came to the river, which was here fordable, owing to its stream being divided by a small island. The water was four or five feet deep. After having crossed, we turned to the southward, and gradually bore into the range of the Cragus mountains, in a south-westerly direction, for about nine miles, when we arrived at the little village called Minara. Near this place we had heard of the existence of ruins, and the similarity of name to the ancient Pinara, a large city of Lycia, made us seek here its site; knowing also that in many instances in Greece the Π has been changed into an M in after times. The ride had been beautiful, amidst well-grown fir-trees, and enriched with underwood now in bloom; the white and the lilac cistus eclipse many of the more

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beautiful flowers of the vetch tribe, which are blossoming beneath their bushes.

The village of Minara is very small, but beautifully situated on the declivity of a hill of almost bare rock; little shelves or terraces of ground are therefore of value, and are generally covered with trees. On one of these terraces my tent is pitched; the view before it extends over bushes of pomegranate, and the middle distance of wooded hills adds richness and beauty to the more distant view of the valley of the Xanthus, with its lofty barrier of mountains rising to the height of the ancient Massicytus, which is perpetually capped with snow. A fine olive-tree overhangs one side of our tent, and a lemon-tree shades the door; beyond are several orange-trees, and on the terrace above, at the back, are fig-trees and some magnificent quinces, now in full bloom—I had almost said in blossom like roses, but amidst them is a large tree of the cabbage-rose, twelve or fourteen feet high, whose sweet flowers have a prior claim to beauty. A rose has just been presented to me by a young Turk boy, which scents the tent delightfully. Our stores of lemons and figs have here been replenished, and we now find a plentiful supply of corn for the horses, with butter, kymac, youghoort, eggs and fowls for ourselves, none of which could we obtain at any price on the other side of the valley.

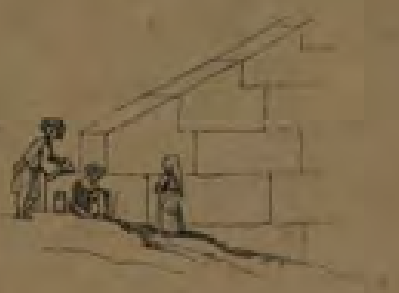
April 15th.—My search for the ancient Pinara has not been in vain, and I am amply repaid by the discovery of

its most interesting ruins about a mile further up the mountain. From amidst the ancient city rises a singu-

lar round rocky cliff*, literally speckled all over with tombs. There must be some thousands, and most of them are merely oblong holes cut in the perpendicular front of the rock, which is apparently inaccessible. Beneath this cliff lay the principal part of the extensive and splendid city of Pinara. Two other places, at different elevations, were also covered with massive buildings, and on either side of these were tombs scattered for a considerable distance, many of them of the gothic-form sarcophagus, and some surrounded by columns; but the most perfect and the most highly interesting

* The Lycian word Pinara is said by Stephanus Byzantinus to mean something *round*; this is here singularly illustrated.

were those below the city cut in the rocks. The theatre is in a very perfect state; all the seats are remaining, with the slanting sides towards the proscenium, as well as several of its doorways. The ingenious mode of the tying form of these stones is coeval with the walls of Cyclopean construction.



The walls, and several buildings of the city, were of the Cyclopean style, with massive gateways formed of

Drawn & Etched by C. Scharf Junr.

PORTICO OF ROCK TOMB AT FINARA.

John Murray London 1841.

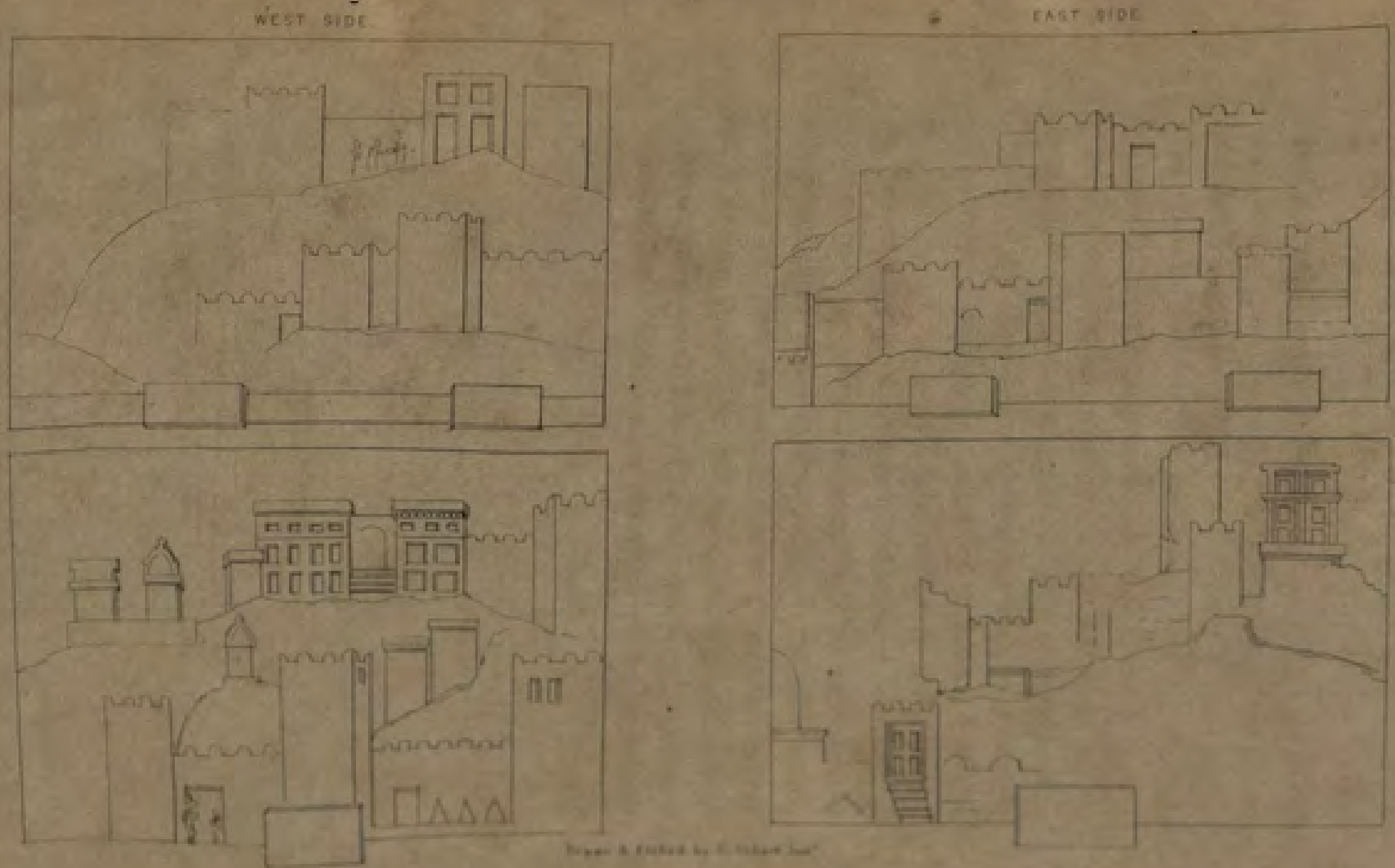
three immense stones. I measured one over the portal, which was fourteen feet in length: the buttresses of the same walls were of regularly squared stones.

These modes of building were both used in the same works, and certainly at the same time; the Cyclopean, which is generally supposed to be the older mode, I have often seen surmounting the regular Greek squared stone walls. The whole city appears to be of one date and people, and, from its innumerable tombs, must have existed for a long series of generations and from a very early period. The inscriptions are generally in the Lycian character, but the Greek occurs on the same tombs with the Lycian, which will probably add to our knowledge of the latter; and these again may be explained by bas-reliefs, which are here of exciting interest.

I have endeavoured to explain, that in some of the tombs at Tlos occurs a portico, within which are preserved highly interesting historical bas-reliefs. One fine tomb before me, shown in the annexed Plate, is of similar construction, and is a finished specimen of the Elizabethan order, with a pediment ornamented with groups of figures, one representing the instruction of a child; on the frieze, which is under dentils, each finished with a sculptured head, is another spirited group, apparently rejoicing; but within the portico, on either side, are views of the ancient city cut in relief on four different panels. I know no instance of a similar insight into the appearance of the ancient cities.

These views exhibit the forms of the tops of the walls, which are embattled, the gateways, and even the sentinels before them. The upper portions of the walls are rarely found remaining at the present day, and I have too often perhaps attributed those I have seen to the Venetian age. The form of the battlements is very singular; none now are left upon the ruined walls of this city, but the tombs and towers might be still selected, probably from the same point of view as represented in these bas-reliefs.

Another tomb cut in the rock also interested me. On my former visit, from seeing the numerous sarcophagi with the gothic-formed roofs, and the hog's-mane along their top, I suggested that they had each had a crest or ornament at either end, which, being exposed and prominent parts, had been broken off. I here find cut in the rock an imitation of this form of



Drawn & Etched by C. Richard Junr

BASRELIEF REPRESENTATIONS OF THE ANCIENT CITY, WITHIN THE PORTICO OF TOMB AT FINARA.

sarcophagus, and its end surmounted by a crest. This, being cut in relief, has remained unbroken. The crest itself is also of historical interest. Herodotus, in describing the different nations joining the army of Xerxes, relates that the people of Bithynia carried two Lycian spears, and had helmets of brass, on the summits of which were the "ears and horns of an ox."

The expense of constructing the innumerable tombs has hitherto been to me perfectly unaccountable. I have just measured one; the form is of the most frequent style, and has its inner front; but the whole appeared so much in relief from the rock, that I climbed up, and found that I could walk by the side, which was ornamented and as highly finished as the front; this passage continued again along the back, making a perfectly independent building or sculptured mausoleum, eighteen feet six inches deep; the cutting from the face of the rock was twenty-six feet deep, directly into its hard mass. I have in one instance found an interesting insight into the probably usual mode of constructing these tombs. Seeing the face of a rock, as it were, only designed for a tomb—the columns being merely square props, with lumps at their tops and thick at the bottom, and with the pediment only a protruding mass—I entered, and found the portico formed square, but not smoothened or shaped for ornament; but the door of the tomb, which was small, was highly finished, representing frame and nails, and on the panels handsome ring-knockers, all cut in the marble rock. For the

purpose of pillaging the tomb, this door had not been moved side-ways in its groove (the usual manner of opening them), but a small hole had been broken in the rock at the side. Putting my head into this, I found the tomb had been finished within, and that the bones of at least two ancient Greeks lay scattered on the floor. This specimen shows that some of the tombs were formed for the reception of the dead, and afterwards finished, probably at a later period. I have copied the following inscription from a pedestal.

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΝΒΤΟΥΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ

ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣ
ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣ
ΚΑΙΑΡΣΑΣΙΣ
ΙΑΣΟΝΟΣΤΟΝ
ΕΑΥΤΩΝΥΟΝ

ΙΑΣΩΝΔΕ
ΚΑΙΑΡΣΑΣΙΣ
ΟΙΔΙΟΝΥΣΙ
ΟΥΤΟΝΕΑΥ
ΤΩΝΑΔΕΛΦΟΝ

ΗΡΩΑ *

* *Translation.*

"Dionysius, the grandson of Diogenes.

Dionysius,
the son of Diogenes
and Arsasis, the
daughter of Jason
their son.

But Jason and
Arsasis, the
children of
Dionysius
their brother,

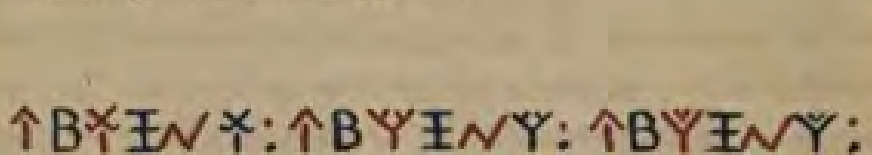
the Hero."

Upon the mullion of a rock-tomb is the following:

ΤΟΜΝΗΝΠΟΜ
ΑΝΠΠΑΤΡΟΥΑΙΣ
ΤΟΥΠΙΣΕΔΑΡΟΥ
ΕΝΩΒΕΒΟΥΛΠΤΑΥ
ΤΑΦΗΝΑΙΜΕΤΑΤΙΠ
ΑΩΟΒΙΩΤΙΕΑΤΟΝ
ΤΕΚΑΙΤΝΝΓΥΝΑΚΑ
ΑΥΤΟΥΜΑΛΑΝΒΠ
ΩΝΟΣΣΑΔΕΤΙΣΕ
ΠΙΧΕΙΡΙΝΗΕΤΕΡΟΝ
ΟΑΨΑΙΟΦΕΙΛΕΣΕΙ
ΤΩΠΙΝΑΡΟΣΩΔΕΙΝ
ΜΩΔΗΝΑΡΙΑΠΕΝ
ΤΑΚΟΣΙΑΑΦΟΝΤΟ
ΤΗΤΟΝΟΕΛΕΝΟΑΣΑΜΝΨΕΤΑΙΤΟΥΤΟΚΑΙΔΙΑΤΩΝ
ΑΡΧΣΙΩΝΔΕΔΗΛΩΤΑΙ
ΟΔΕΠΑΓΙΑΣ
ΤΕΓΡΑΛΕΛΙΑΤΙ
ΠΟΙΗΣΑΣΕΣΤΩ
ΙΕΡΟΣΥΛΟΣΟΕ
ΟΕΟΙΣΟΥΠΑΝΙΟΙΣ
ΚΑΙΚΑΙΚΑΤΑΧΘΟ
ΝΙΟΙΣΚΑΙΤΟΓΙΡΟΣ
ΤΕΙΜΟΝΔΠΟΤΕΙ
ΣΑΤΩΔΙΔΗ
ΛΩΤΑΙΑΡΤ
ΙΕΠΕΟΕΔΡΤΕ
ΤΑΔΡΟΥΕ
ΥΠΕΡΚΕΡΕ
ΤΑΙΟΥ
Λ̄ *

* *Translation.*—"The monument of Antipater, the grandson of Pisedarus [?], in which he has determined after ..... to be buried

The letters of the Lycian inscriptions in this city, cut into the rock, I find have generally been coloured —red, yellow, green, or light blue; the letters varying alternately with two colours*.



How little is known even of the names of the ancient Greek buildings! I find the usual vocabulary sadly deficient in supplying appellations for many edifices crowded together in this very ancient city; several have long parallel walls, built of massive and good masonry, with numerous doorways, and simple but

himself, and his wife Mala, the daughter of Bito. But if any one shall attempt to bury another [in the tomb], he shall owe to the People of the Pinareans 500 denarii, of which the party that convicts him shall receive one-third. This has likewise been declared in the archives. But he who shall do anything against these regulations, shall be a sacrilegious person unto the gods of heaven and of hell, and shall besides pay the fine. [This] has been declared under [?] the high-priest Artemidorus [?] on the thirtieth day of Hyperberetæus."

The month of Hyperberetæus was the last in the Ephesian and the Syro-Macedonian almanacks, and in the former extended from the 24th of August to the 24th of September.

* I have selected a repetition of the same word, which almost always commences the sepulchral inscriptions in the Lycian language, in order to show the variety of form used in the third and sixth letters, but which are evidently the same character.

bold cornices. Others are more square in form, with a fine sweeping circular recess at one end; they have often four doorways, and columns lying about within the buildings. Near and within one of the entrances to the upper part of the city, are the remains of a very small theatre, or probably an Odeum; I have not before seen one so small; it would serve as a lecture-room of the present day, where all the powers of the orator might have full effect. Beneath the surface of the highest part of the city are large square chambers, cut in the rock and arched over with masonry; the whole of the inside is beautifully plaistered with a white stucco, having a polished surface like marble. These have no doubt been stores for corn and other provisions for the city.

While rambling among the ruins, a peasant brought me ten copper coins, all extremely small, but all Greek, found by himself in a few yards of soil which he had cultivated around his hut. I gave him five piastres, and was soon the possessor of above fifty on the same terms: many of them are probably valueless, but their being all from this place gives to them an interest; for this city is yet unknown to Europeans, and no coins are possessed by any of the museums. Among the coins I notice many with the head of a ram, and inscribed with the name of the city*; some also of Tlos, and one or two of Eastern nations of the age of

* See Plate XXXIV. Nos. 13 and 14.

Antiochus, about three centuries before Christ, but none of a later date.

The people had never before seen a Frank; an old man told me that none had ever been up to his village: their manners were naturally the more simple, and of this I must give an instance. Three or four men, one of them very old, were the most attentive and curious in watching and assisting us to move stones and leading the way through bushes; of course we returned this civility by signs of obligation. We soon became more intimate, and they ventured to make remarks, noticing the spectacles worn by one of my companions, and placing them before their own eyes; these and a magnifying-glass astonished them exceedingly. Our pencils and books were equally novel to them. Soon afterwards a pretty little girl joined our group, with a red skull-cap much faded by the sun, and from which were suspended chains of glittering coins, confining her hair, that hung in many long plaits down her back, in the manner of the ancient Egyptians: rows of coloured beads hung around her brown open breast. This child was pushed forward to present to me an egg, which I exchanged for half a piastre, and all fear of the Frank at once ceased. Other eggs were brought, my plant-box and hands were soon filled, and I was reminded of my former servant's instruction, that presents are very dear things in this country—the price of eggs being twenty or thirty for a piastre.

We made signs to our officious cicerones that we wished to climb to the upper part of the city, but they opposed this, and we were compelled to understand that we must follow them to their huts close by. We did so, and were received by three women, the wives of our guides, at the doors of their huts, and a carpet was soon spread on the ground in front, on which we reclined, while each woman brought out her present; one, a large bowl of kymac, another, one of youghoort, and the third a supply of fresh-baked bread of the country; two wooden spoons were placed for our use, and the eyes of a dozen peasants assembled around were riveted upon us. The dogs, which always assail the stranger most fiercely with their barking, lay asleep by our side, acknowledging us as the guests of their kind masters. The cow, which is here but little larger than the dogs, was being milked; and on the broken columns and stones piled around sat our hostesses, while their husbands were on the ground still nearer. Among them were five or six children, each most pic-

turesquely and classically dressed. I cannot help again noticing the close resemblance of the costume of the women to the ancient statues: the hair is worn long and braided round the head; one old woman of the party had it tied in a knot at the top of the forehead, exactly as I have seen represented in the antique. Their arms had each the simple armlet or bracelet of gold; sometimes two or three on one wrist, and always a fibula of silver or gold to hold together the loose tunic or shirt; the upper jacket is embroidered most richly; the trowsers, extremely loose, and confined at the ankle, are generally red, blue, or white, and often ornamented with silver embroidery or spangles; those before us were only worked with coloured silks.

The people here are Chinganees, or gipsies, as I noticed when in this district before; they therefore show their faces, and are not so secluded as the Turkish women generally. A child presenting me with a flower, gave me an opportunity of substantially acknowledging my obligation for this true hospitality: the whole scene to me was most pleasing. It is delightful to meet with so simple and naturally kind a people, and apparently devoid of any prejudice against those thought to be so opposed to themselves in every opinion.

CHAPTER VII.

Discovery of Sidyma—its Tombs—Temples—Natural History—Lions—Ancient Fort—Xanthus—Sarcophagus-tomb—Lycian Inscription upon Obelisk—Ancient Sculptures—Harpies—Chariots—Animals—Processions—Tomb—Customs of the Peasants.

April 15th.—Leaving Minara, we travelled towards the south-west, over a range of wooded hills separating our little valley from another as beautiful. These recesses or bays from the valley of the Xanthus are particularly rich, and might be productive; they are in a better state of cultivation than most parts of this country. The lands have a gradual inclination down to the valley, and are screened on either side by the wooded hills protruding from the range of the Cragus. As a type of the general character of the vegetation we passed, I will describe the first of these bays after our leaving Minara. The whole valley has probably been, like the hills above, covered with underwood, and a track through them has been the road we have followed. In order to cultivate the land, the underwood has all been burnt or grubbed up, leaving on either

side of the way a belt of vegetation to form fences to the fields. These hedges are therefore not of one description, but vary at every bush, and mingle wildly together, producing at this season a beauty and luxuriance which regales all the senses. The predominant shrub is the myrtle, and next, the small prickly oak; with these are mingled the pomegranate, the orange, wild olive, oleander, and the elegant gum-storax; these are matted together by the vine, clematis, and asparagus: in the fields are left standing, for their shade as well as their fruit, the carob, the fig, and the oak. Barley is the principal produce of the fields at this season, but the old stems of the maize show the second crop of the last year. A few huts in the centre of this valley give the name of Yakabalyer to the plain also.

Another valley further on our way, in which stands Kestép, is more wooded, appearing, as we ascended through a forest of fir-trees on the hill of separation, one wood of splendidly-grown oaks; they are the *Quercus ægylops*, which is here a considerable source of wealth from its acorns, called by the Smyrna merchants *Velanéa*; the timber would, if wanted for the market, be of high value.

On entering a third of these valleys, called, from its village, Guilemet, we turned up a ravine to the west, leading directly into the midst of the Cragus range; this was about ten miles from Minara. Gradually ascending for nearly two hours, we arrived at the village of Tortoorcar, where we sought the remains of an

ancient city, but were told that high in the mountains above us were the ruins, and within them was the village of Tortoorcar Hissá. We climbed for more than an hour up a steep, quite unfit for horses, when we found ourselves amidst the splendidly-built tombs of an unknown city of the ancient Greeks. The following inscription I copied from one of them, which was two stories high and had a portico.

ΤΔΔΝΗΜΕΙΟΝΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝΕΠΑΓΑ
ΘΟΣΔΔΣΕΙΔΥΜΕΥΣΕΑΥΤΩΚΑΙΤΗΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΑΥΤΟΥΑΡ
ΣΕΙΔΗΚΑΙΜΙΩΚΑΛΛΙΜΗΔΟΥΚΑΙΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΑΥΤΟΥ
ΕΠΑΓΑΘΩΤΡΙΣΚΑΙΑΡΣΕΙΤΗΚΑΙΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗΚΑΙΕΓ
ΓΟΝΟΙΣΕΠΑΓΑΘΩΤΩΚΑΙΔΕΙΩΚΑΙΕΠΑΓΑΘΩΕΠΙ
ΤΩΤΑΦΗΝΑΙΤΟΥΣΠΡΟΔΗΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΣΕΝΤΩΑΝΩ
ΣΗΚΩΕΤΕΡΩΔΕΜΗΔΕΝΙΕΞΕΙΝΑΙΤΑΦΗΝΑΙΕΝΤΩ
ΑΝΩΣΗΚΩΕΝΔΕΤΟΙΣΚΑΤΩΣΗΚΟΙΣΤΑΦΗΝΑΙΜΗΤΕ
ΡΑΑΥΤΟΔΜΑΛΑΒΑΘΡΙΝΗΝΚΑΙΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΟΝΚΑ
ΖΩΣΙΜΗΝ ΤΟΥΣΕΠΑΓΑΘΟΔΔΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΝΕ ΜΟΥ
ΔΙΣΤΟΥΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥΚΑΙΚΑΛΟΤΥΧΟΝΠΟΠΛΙΟΥ
ΚΑΙΥΙΟΝΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΛΟΤΥΧΟΝΕΤΕΡΩΔΕΜΗΔΕΝ
ΕΞΕΣΤΩΘΑΨΑΙΙΣΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝΕΤΕΡΟΝΤΙΝΑΕ
ΑΝΔΕΤΙΣΘΔΨΗΟΦΕΙΛΕΣΕΤΩΣΙΔΥΜΕΩΝΔΗΜΩ
ΑΦΧΩΝΟΔΔΣΑΛΔΔΕΞΙΤΟΤΡΙΤΟΝΗΔΕΠΡΟΔΗ
ΛΟΥΜΕΝΙΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΦΗΚΑΙΔΙΑΤΩΝΑΡΧΕΙΩΝ
ΕΠΙΑΡΧΙΕΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΙΝΤΟΥΑΠΕΛΛΑΙΟΥ *

* *Translation.*—"Epagathus twice [*i. e.* the grandson of another Epagathus], a citizen of Sidyma, has built the monument for himself and his wife Arsis, also called Mion, the daughter of Callimedes and his children: Epagathus thrice [*i. e.* great-grandson of another Epagathus] and Arsis, also called Agathe Tyche [*i. e.* Good luck], and his

These fragments were inscribed under the pediment and within the portico of the same tomb.

ΠΟΚΑΤΕΣΕΝΕΠΑΓ · ΘΟΣΔΙΣΣΙΔΥΜΕΥΣ

ΩΔΕ
ΙΙΕΣΕΙ
ΩΝΝΑΙ
ΩΑΝΩΣΗ
ΝΔΕΡΟΙΣ
ΣΗΚΟΙΣ
ΙΑΙΜΗ
ΑΥΤΟΥ *

The inscriptions soon told the name of this city to have been Sidyma, and the style of its architecture led me to assign to it a date purely Greek, but by no means

grandchildren, Epagathus, also called Dius and Epagathus. But upon the above-mentioned persons being buried in the upper tombs, it shall be lawful for nobody else to be buried in the upper tombs; but in the lower tombs there are to be buried his mother Malabathrine, and Epaphrodeitos and Zosime, the children of Epagathus, and Stephanos, the son of Hermus [?], grandson of Ptolemæus and Calotychus, the son of Publius, and his son Calotychus. But to nobody else it shall be permitted to bury another in the monument; but if anybody do bury, he shall owe to the People of the Sidymeans 1500 [?] denarii, of which he who proves [the trespass] shall have [?] one-third. The inscription given above is likewise [recorded] in the archives under the high-priest . . . . . on the . . . . . day of Apellæus"—[*i. e.* second month of the Syro-Macedonians, from the 24th of October to the 24th of November]."

* These fragments probably belonged to some abstracts of the preceding inscription, which were written on different parts of the tomb.

COFFERED CEILING.

Drawn by C. Fellows Esq.

Drawn by [illegible]

TOMB AT DIDYMA.

so early as that of Pinara or any of the cities more marked by the Lycian peculiarities. In this city we saw no Cyclopean walls, and none of that other extreme of art, differing in all points but its simplicity, the sculpture accompanying the Lycian inscriptions. I saw only one ornamented tomb in the rocks, and but two or three of the gothic-formed sarcophagi: one of these was inscribed with the following Greek characters:

ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΗΣ
ΚΑΙΦΑΡΝΑΚΗΣ
ΟΦΑΡΝΑΚΟΚΑ
ΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΝ
ΤΟΜΝΗΜ◢◢*

I obtained but few inscriptions out of the very many on the tombs, on account of the perished state of the surface of the marble in this elevated situation. The annexed Plate will show one of the tombs of white marble; the slab forming the ceiling I have drawn separately, to show the high finish of its sofits. The extreme cost of ornament, and the great size of the tombs standing on stoas fitted for temples, surprised me much; they were like the tombs of a large city which had disappeared; but the city remained to show its original extent, which was very small; its agora,

* *Translation.*—"Agathocles and Pharnaces, the son of Pharnaces, have built the monument."

theatre, and other buildings were indeed almost too small to be recognized as suitable to the purposes of the public meetings of the people of a city.

Several square buildings, not larger than many of the tombs, have evidently been temples; the scale and beauty of their doorways cannot have suited any other edifice: I sought in vain for inscriptions near them.

We here saw a building rather apart from the town, similar to others which I have noticed elsewhere, having a square room, with a circular end, and side buildings forming little covered saloons with many

doors: these ruins retain much of their stucco, which has been painted with borders and wreaths of flowers, and part of a female figure, in red, blue, green, yellow, and white colours.

The present state of this district is extremely wild; only three or four huts are amidst these ruins on the mountain, and their occupants have always their gun slung over their shoulder, even within the limits of their own cultivated fields. On inquiry as to why this custom prevailed, we were told that the country was full of wild animals, and of the fiercest kind. I was extremely cautious and particular in my inquiries as to their nature, and have no doubt of the truth of the account which I heard from many of the people of the surrounding district, and each unknown to the other. In this village alone, four or five lions, called Aslan by the Turks, and other animals called Caplan (the leopard) are killed every year. The man who first told me, had himself taken the skins to the Aga, to present to different Pashas, and these presentations had been rewarded by sums of one to two hundred piastres, which he had himself received. The lions, he said, are timid unless surprised or attacked, and I could not hear that they did much injury to the flocks. Wolves—and, if I understand rightly, the hyæna also—are found here; and the latter are described as gnashing their teeth together; my Greek servant adds, that such animals strike fire from their mouths, but this occurs in his travels in Persia. I have heard the same from show-

men at our country fairs, among other exaggerated wonders. Bears are certainly found here in great numbers. I observe the most costly buildings in this district are the apiaries, which are formed of a square of high walls, open at the top only; within this the hives are placed, and a ladder is used, if entry is required—a precaution which is essential to keep away the bears from the honey. This, which reminded me of the illustrations of Æsop's fables, was the more interesting from its being his native country. The moral of the fable is preserved; but the hives that I have seen pictured would not be known by the bees of this country, as their house is here more simple, being universally the hollowed section of a fir-tree. Snakes are also abundant in this district, but they are most numerous in the lower valleys. An island opposite to Macry, at the foot of the Cragus range, is wholly given up to them; and the ruins of an earlier village, called Macry-vecchia, probably of a late Roman age, are shown as the remains of a town deserted on account of the number of snakes. The people object even to approach the island, and I doubt not that their fears greatly exaggerate the number and size of these animals. My servant saw one, which he considered small, among the ruins of Cadyanda; it measured six feet, and was as thick as his arm.

Uslaun, April 16th.—I have seldom passed a more rugged, and never a worse road with baggage-horses, than today; the distance on the map is not great, but

we have been five hours on the way. For the first hour, after leaving Tortoorear Hiss*a*, we ascended a craggy mountain covered with fir-trees, and then arrived at a little cultivated plain. Around this were barren crags, scarcely affording pasture to the flocks of large black goats on their rocky sides: the height to which they had climbed made me giddy as I looked up to seek whence came their bleating.

From this elevated mountain pass, we obtained occasionally splendid views of the sea, whose immense expanse was unbroken by a vessel of any kind. Turning down a steep ravine towards the south-east, we came to a few huts, and continuing our course at last saw before us the Delta of the Xanthus; Patara being at one angle, and this place occupying the other toward the sea. Uslann has but three sheds, and serves as the port, or scala, for shipping fire-wood and salt-fish to Rhodes. Two Greeks carry on this trade, and are the whole population. A village, consisting of a few huts, lies about a mile inland from this place, which is probably another mile from the sea-coast. We were supplied here with eight fowls for fifteen piastres, scarcely five-pence each; but this is not so cheap in proportion as the produce of the interior towards the south. The prices of our provisions I find are higher than they were two years ago.

We were attracted hither by the report of the existence of ruins in this quarter, and also by the admirable chart of Captain Beaufort, who lays them down

as ruins not yet visited. Colonel Leake had also directed me hither as the probable site of the ancient Cydna, or Pydna; but of this discovery I am not satisfied.

About a mile distant, near to the sea, we found a rocky hill, fortified with a beautifully built Cyclopean wall, with towers and loop-holes, and showing a fine specimen of an ancient Greek fortification: the walls

had a terrace for the passage of a guard within the battlements, and this course passed by doors through the towers; and as the wall rose up the steep side of the hill, the terrace was formed of a flight of steps; several of the towers had only been breastwork, having but three walls, the inner side being left open.

This place does not appear to me ever to have been a city, for the walls contain but one building, and this at the lower corner. No loose stones, or cuttings of the bare rocky ground for foundations, show that any other buildings ever existed. What this one structure has

been, must remain a mystery; its form, painted walls and arched domes are precisely the same as those of the ruin I have described at Sidyma. Within this building lay a broken pedestal, with this inscription:

ΟCC
ΔΩΝΙ
ΕΥΧΗ
ΜΑΥCΩ
ΛΟΥΑΛΑ
ΒΑΡΧΟΥ *

In turning over the stone we killed a scorpion, which lay concealed beneath it. On the outside of the wall were the remains of a small ruined building, again of the same construction, but still less perfect; it had its three chambers, with dome tops and painted walls. Only two tombs were to be found in the neighbourhood, and they were near the outside of the south gate. The following inscription was upon a stone which had been over the doorway of one of them, and I think may assist to strengthen my opinion that this place was a stronghold or fort of the Xanthians, and that the soldiers of

* *Translation.*—"To Poseidon; the vow of Mausolus, the Alabarches."

The name of Mausolus was hereditary in a family that gave to Caria several kings, or rather satraps, to one of whom his queen Artemisia constructed the celebrated tomb. The office of Alabarches, mentioned in several other inscriptions, and noticed by Josephus and other ancient authors, especially at Alexandria, seems, according to the most approved etymology, to have corresponded to that of a Commissioner of Customs.

ΓΟΝΙΟ◿ΙΑΤΕϹΚΕΥΑϹΕΝΕ◿ΙΜΙ◿ΟϹΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΟΥϹΑΝΟΙΟϹ
ΕΑΥΤΩ◿ΙΙΕΚΝΟΙϹΚΑΙΕΝΓΟΝΟΙϹΚΑΙϹΥΝΓΕΝΕΙϹΙΕΤΕΡΩΑΕΟΥΤΕΝ

ΤΟΥ◿◿ΟΥΤΟΙΔΙΟΝΩΕΡΟϹΕϹ◿ΧΩΡΗΟΙΔΙΑΤΩΝΑΧΕΤΩΑΥΡΗΛΙΩ
ΖΩϹΙΝΩΕΙΤΗΕΒΔΟΜΗΤΟΥΛΠΕΜΑΙΟΥΜΗΝΟϹΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙΤΑΥΡΕΙΝΟΥΕΙΜΗ
ΜΗΜΟΝΟΡΑΥΤΟϹΟΖΩϹΙΜ◿ΟΥϹΑΝΒΟΥΛΗΘΗ

ΗΟΠΑΡΑΤΑΥΤΑΠΟΙΗϹΑϹΑΠΟΤΕΙϹΕΙΞΑΝΘΙΩΝ
ΤΗΠΟΛΕΙ ϰϹΝ *

* *Translation.*—" Eimius [Zosimus?], the son of Epaphroditus, a citizen of Xanthus, has built the Heroum [tomb] for himself and his children and grand-children, and his kinsfolk, but for no other [?].

" His own part [of the tomb] was transferred in the records [?] to Aurelius Zosimus on the seventh day of the month Apellæus, under [?] the high-priest Taurinus.

" Unless those whom Zosimus himself shall wish. Or he, who acts against this, shall pay to the city of Xanthus two hundred and fifty denarii."

The inscription has many difficulties, part of which may be removed by taking the third and fourth lines as a parenthesis, as indicated in the translation. The difference of several letters in these two lines from those in the body of the inscription, seems to confirm this hypothesis, according to which we suppose, that Aurelius Zosimus, one of the original proprietor's kinsfolk, had his own portion of the family vault transferred to his own name in the public records. Space for stating this in the inscription may either have been left by anticipation, or made afterwards by removing some ornaments.

the fort may have lived in tents or buildings of perishable materials, no trace of which are left within the walls. Three lines of this inscription are cut upon the ornamental moulding, and have apparently been added at a subsequent period. There are no signs of other tombs, and no theatre or public buildings.

Close to the scala and near to our tent, is an isolated rock, the whole of which is crowned with a well-built Greek wall, which appears to have been the basement of a temple or some single building; its situation, rising out of the plain, is imposing.

April 17th, Xanthus.—I am once more at my favourite city—the first in which I became acquainted with the remains of art of the ancient Lycians, and in which I hope to find still more, embodying their language, history, and poetic sculpture. How might the classic enthusiast revel in the charms of this city and its neighbourhood! With Mount Cragus before him, he might conjure up all the chimæras of its fabulous history.

This morning, on leaving Uslann, which is very nearly the Turkish name for the Lion, we crossed the little river which rises suddenly from the rocks within two miles of the sea, but meanders in a brilliantly clear stream for at least three miles before it reaches the beach; it is navigable for small boats to the scala. Continuing across the plain for four miles, with drifted sand-banks on our right, we came near to what is not improperly called the Island, being a rocky hill rising amidst the perfectly level plain. On the larger portion

of this hill there are no ruins of ancient buildings to be found, but some are visible on the summit of the smaller. We were unable to cross the swamp by which it is surrounded at this season, in order to examine them; but an intelligent old Greek, who was our guide, said that the stones were only the lower part of a building, which was round, but not a theatre, for it had no seats. No columns were to be seen there, nor any other remains of a city: neither tombs nor walls were upon the hill. Possibly this may have been the Letoum and temple of Apollo, which Colonel Leake expected would there be found; the easy transport of columns by sea would fully account for their absence. In half an hour more we crossed the livid waters of the Xanthus, which there divided into two streams, but both were too deep for us to pass with comfort. The horses were several inches above their girths in the water, and the baggage was partly bathed. Three men stripped, and guided us across the rapid streams. Another hour brought us here, where we intend to halt for several days, to examine further into the remains of this chief of the Lycian cities, and to make accurate drawings of its interesting sculpture.

April 21*st*.—This is my fourth day among the ruins of Xanthus, and how little do I know of this ancient city! its date still puzzles me. It certainly possesses some of the earliest Archaic sculpture in Asia Minor, and this connected with the most beautiful of its monuments, and illustrated by the language of Lycia. These

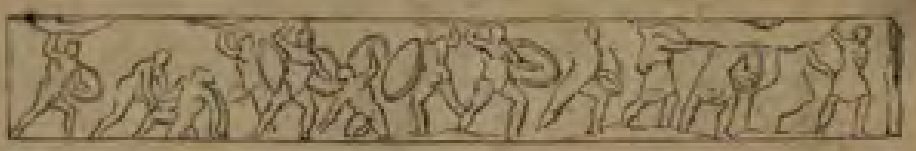
sculptures to which I refer must be the work of the sixth or seventh centuries before the Christian æra, but I have not seen an instance of these remains having been despoiled for the rebuilding of walls; and yet the decidedly more modern works of a later people are used as materials in repairing the walls around the back of the city and upon the Acropolis; many of these have Greek inscriptions, with names common among the Romans. The whole of the sculpture is Greek, fine, bold, and simple, bespeaking an early age of that people. No sign whatever is seen of the works of the Byzantines or Christians.

To lay down a plan of the town is impossible, the whole being concealed by trees; but walls of the finest kind, Cyclopean blended with the Greek, as well as the beautifully squared stones of a lighter kind, are seen in every direction; several gateways also, with their paved roads, still exist. I observed on my first visit that the temples have been very numerous, and, from their position along the brow of the cliff, must have combined with nature to form one of the most beautiful of cities. The extent I now find is much greater than I had imagined, and its tombs extend over miles of country I had not before seen.

The beautiful gothic-formed sarcophagus-tomb, with chariots and horses upon its roof, of which I gave several views in my former Journal, as well as a sketch of a battle-scene upon the side, accompanied with a Lycian inscription, is again a chief object of my admi-

ration amidst the ruins of this city. Of the ends of this monument I did not before show drawings, but gave a full description. I have now succeeded in copying the inscription which I mentioned as being illegible, to which I add views of the ends, and, by the aid of Mr. Scharf, am able to do more justice to these fine works of the ancients.

Beneath the rocks, at the back of the city, is a sarcophagus of the same kind, and almost as beautifully sculptured, but this has been thrown down, and the lid now lies half buried in the earth. Its hog's-mane is sculptured with a spirited battle-scene.



Many Greek inscriptions upon pedestals are built into the walls, which may throw some light upon the history of the city; they are mostly funereal, and belong to an age and people quite distinct from those of the many fine Lycian remains. I copied the following:

ΞΑΝΘΙΩΝΗΠΟΛΙΣ
ΗΤΟΥΛΥΚΙΩΝΕΘΝΟΥΣ
ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣΟΥΛ
ΠΙΑΝΦΙΛΑΝΓΕΝΟΜΕ
ΝΗΝΓΥΝΑΙΚΑΤΟΥ
ΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΟΥΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥ
ΛΑΡΙΧΟΥ *

* *Translation.*—"The city of Xanthus, the metropolis of the Lycian

FIGURES ON THE ENDS OF SARCOPHAGUS TOMB OF KANYDUS.

ΞΙΑϹΑΜΕΙ
ΟΥΘΕΟΥΞΑΝΘΟΥΓΥ
ΜΝΑϹΙΑΡΧΗϹΑϹΤΗϹ
ϹΕΜΝΟΤΑΤΗϹΓΕΡΟΥ
ϹΙΑϹΤΕΛΕϹΑϹΔΕΚΑΙ
ΕΤΕΡΑϹΠΑΕΙΟΝΑϹΠΟ
ΛΕΙΤΙΝΑϹΑΡΧΑϹΤΗ
ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΤΟΝΑΝΔΡΙ
ΑΝΤΑΚΑΤΑΤΑΕΨΗ
ΦΙϹΜΕΝΑΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙ
ΩΝΑΝΕϹΤΗϹΑ *

The following inscription is interesting from the insight which it gives as to the regulation of the games.

ΚΟΝΤΟΝΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥ
ΔΙΣΤΟΥΣΟΛΑΣΟΥΞΑΝ
ΘΙΟΝΠΑΤΡΟΣΚΑΙΠΡΟΓΟ
ΝΩΝΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΩΝΑΓΩΝΙ

nation, [honoured] Ulpia Phila, who had become the wife of the excellent Aurelius Larichus."

The honorary name of Metropolis, i. e. *mother-city, whence colonies have sprung*, was often assumed by Greek cities of very little importance; Xanthus, however, seems fully to have been entitled to it, standing prominent in whatever we know of Lycian history, and being called by Strabo (l. xiv. p. 666) the greatest city of Lycia.

* *Translation.*—"Having been . . . . . of the god Xanthus and gymnasiarches of the most worshipful Gerusia, and discharged also several other public offices in my native city, I have, according to the decree, erected the statue at my own expense."

The god Xanthus, mentioned in this inscription only, is probably the deified personification of the river Xanthus, which is intimately connected with the celebrated worship of Apollo in Lycia.

ΣΑΜΕΝΟΝΑΝΔΡΩΝΠΑΛΗΝ
ΕΝΤΩΕΠΙΤΕΛΕΣΘΕΝΤΙΑΓΩ
ΝΙΘΕΜΙΔΟΣΓΕΚΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΣ
ΤΙΒΚΛΑΚΑΣΙΑΝΟΥΑΓΡΙΠΠΑ
ΝΕΙΚΗΣΑΝΤΑΚΑΙΕΚΒΙΒΑΣΑΝ
ΤΑΚΛΗΡΟΥΣΔΑΓΩΝΟΘΕ
ΤΟΥΝΤΟΣΤΗΣΘΕΜΙΔΟΣΔΙΑ
ΒΙΟΥΤΟΥΑΞΙΟΛΟΓΩΤΑΤΟΥ
ΦΙΛΟΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣΛΥΚΙΑΡΧΟΥ
ΤΙΒΚΛΤΗΛΕΜΑΧΟΥΞΑΝ
ΘΙΩΝΗΤΟΥΛΥΚΙΩΝΕΘΝΟ
ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΙΣΚΑΘΩΣΟΔΙ
ΑΘΕΜΕΝΟΣΔΙΕΣΤΕΙΛΑΤΟ *

Two of my days have been spent in the tedious, but, I trust, useful occupation, of copying the Lycian

* *Translation.*—"Quintus, the son of Apollonius, grandson of Sostratus [?], a citizen of Xanthus, his father and ancestors being councilmen, having contested in the wrestling-match of the men in the games celebrated besides [those performed ordinarily at the public expense?] for the third prize [given] from the legacy of Tiberius Claudius Cæsianus Agrippa, having won and outrun four lots; this prize being for his lifetime in the gift of the most distinguished Lyciarches, the friend of his country, Tib. Cl. Telemachus; the city of Xanthus, the metropolis of the Lycian nation, [honours him, *i. e.* Quintus, probably by erecting a statue,] as he who left the legacy has ordered."

This inscription, like that given at p. 108, may throw light on some particulars of the gymnastic festivals. Having no precedent, the translation is in some parts conjectural. The Lyciarches, according to Strabo (l. xiv. p. 665), was chosen by the delegates from the twenty-three Lycian cities; whilst they were free, he presided over the management of political affairs, and in Roman times over the public games and festivals of the confederation.

inscription from the obelisk I mentioned in my former volume that I had seen: this will be of service to the philologist. As the letters are beautifully cut, I have taken several impressions from them, to obtain facsimiles. By this inscription I hope to fix the type of an alphabet, which will be much simplified, as I find upon the various tombs about the town great varieties, though of a trifling nature, in the forms of each letter; these varieties have hitherto been considered as different characters. This long public inscription will establish the form of all the letters of an alphabet, one form only being used throughout for each letter: if this should be deciphered, it may be the means of adding information to history. The inscription exceeds 250 lines.

It is to be regretted that the obelisk is not perfect; time or an earthquake has split off the upper part, which lies at its foot. Two sides of this portion only remain with inscriptions which I could copy; the upper surface being without any, and the lower facing the ground, its weight of many tons rendered it immoveable. I had the earth excavated from the obelisk itself, and came to the base, or probably the upper part of a flight of steps, as in the other obelisk-monuments of a similar construction. The characters upon the north-west side, types of which are shown on the left of the annexed Plate, are cut in a finer and bolder style, and appear to be the most ancient. Should any difference of date occur on this monument, I should decide that this is the commencement or original inscription upon it.

This, which I must consider as a very important monument, appears to have on the north-east side a portion of its inscription in the early Greek language; the letters are comparatively ill cut, and extremely difficult at such an elevation to decipher; seizing favourable opportunities for the light, I have done my best to copy it faithfully, and glean from it that the subject is funereal, and that it relates to a king of Lycia; the mode of inscription makes the monument itself speak, being written in the first person*. Very near to this stands the monument, similar in form, which I described in my last Journal as being near the theatre, and upon which remained the singular bas-reliefs of which I gave sketches. On closer examination I find these to be far more interesting and ancient than I had before deemed them. They are in very low relief, resembling in that respect the Persepolitan or Egyptian bas-reliefs. I have now had detailed drawings made for the annexed Plate, which will better explain their age and meaning. This monument, I trust, may ere long be deposited in our national Museum†.

I have received from Mr. Benjamin Gibson of Rome a letter in reference to these bas-reliefs, as seen in the

* This was suggested to me by the learned Professor Müller.

† On my return to England, through Athens, I was much struck by the great similarity in style, age, art and mode of arranging the hair, of the fragment here shown, to the bas-reliefs on the obelisk-tomb at Xanthus. This fragment is known, from the position in which it was found upon the Acropolis, to have been of an earlier date than the Par-

Plate of my former book, and again shown here: his interpretation of this mysterious subject appears far the best that I have yet heard; and from finding the district to have been in all probability the burial-place of the kings, it becomes the more interesting. Mr. Gibson writes—"The winged figures on the corners of the tomb you have discovered in Lycia, represented flying away with children, may with every probability

thenon of Pericles, and is attributed to the seventh century before the Christian æra. It is called "Venus stepping into her car," and is amongst the recent Athenian discoveries.

be well supposed to have a reference to the story of the Harpies flying away with the daughters of king Pandarus. This fable we find related by Homer in the Odyssey, lib. xx., where they are stated to be left orphans, and the gods as endowing them with various gifts. Juno gives them prudence, Minerva instructs them in the art of the loom, Diana confers on them tallness of person, and lastly Venus flies up to Jupiter to provide becoming husbands for them; in the mean time, the orphans thus being left unprotected, the Harpies come and 'snatch the unguarded charge away.' Strabo tells us that Pandarus was king of Lycia, and was worshiped particularly at Pinara. This tomb becomes thus very interesting; which, if it be not the tomb of Pandarus, shows that the story was prevalent in Lycia, and that the great author of the Iliad derived it from that source."

With this clue, we have no difficulty in recognizing Juno on the peculiar chair assigned to that goddess, and on the same side is Venus and her attendants; upon another is probably represented Diana, recognized by the hound. The seated gods are less easily distinguished. In the Harpies, at the four corners of the tomb, we have the illustration of those beings as described by the classic writers.

Every excursion we have made has added tales of fresh discoveries of pieces of sculpture, many of which I have had sketched. They are of a pure Greek date, and the subjects may be of interest to the mythologist

Drawn & Etched by J. Schaff Lith.

FRAGMENTS AT XANTHUS.

and student of the Greek games; were it possible to remove the trees and bushes, the examination of the piles of ruins would afford occupation for many weeks. In my previous Journal I mentioned that various pieces of sculpture of early date are built into the walls of the Acropolis: of these I now give drawings, which may assist, from the subject and style of art, to afford information about this interesting place. The construction of the chariots and the costume of the figures are of an early age: I also observe a marked peculiarity in the arrangement of the forelocks of the horses*. The animals have also their interest; some strongly resemble the subjects often seen upon antique gems. The lion

* On examining the various works of the ancient Greeks in the British Museum, I find no instance either in the horses of the Greek marbles, or on the numerous Etruscan vases, of the forelock being tied in this peculiar form; but in the bas-reliefs from Persepolis, I find

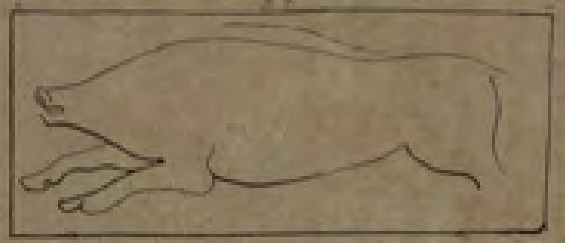
each horse has its hair exactly so arranged, as will be seen in this sketch from one of them. The whip of the driver of the chariot, as well as his costume, is also the same as in the Xanthian specimen.

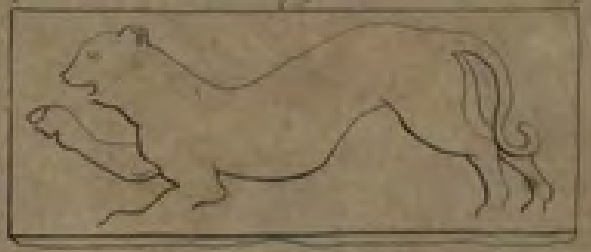
and the bull are always prominent objects in Lycian sculpture.

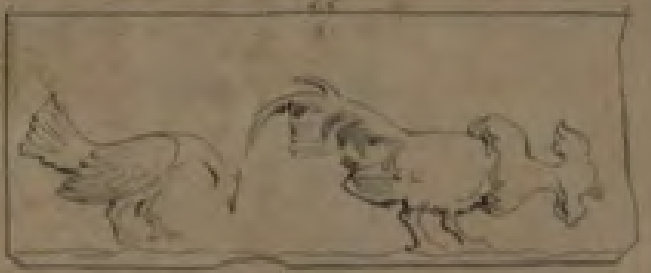
I have been surprised at not obtaining any coins from the peasants, for they cultivate every bare spot amidst the ruins, and the whole surrounding district is under the plough; but the few people we have seen say they very rarely find any. The peasantry here are far more industrious than in most districts I have visited; at this season every field has its yoke of oxen at work,

tilling the ground in the same manner as in the time of the early inhabitants, and the tents of the husbandmen are being pitched where the swamps have sufficiently dried; this tillage is for the later crops of maize, the barley being now in ear, and the wheat nearly full grown. The beans and vetches are in bloom.

The industry and independence of the peasantry here has caused us much trouble to obtain our requisite supplies. We have had to send several miles before we





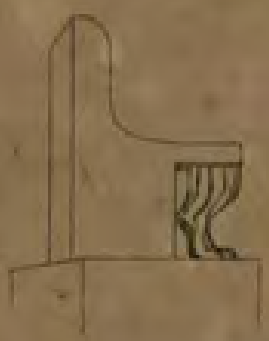


FRAGMENTS AT KANTHUS.

could persuade the shepherds at this season to part with their sheep; at last a lad has brought us one, for which we have to make him a present, in addition to the price of the sheep.

The water for our use is also brought from the river, which is half a mile from our tent, and is of a colour that would forbid its being used for drinking, were it possible to obtain better.

In the theatre, which I mentioned in my former Journal, I have sketched a marble chair, probably a place of honour for some distinguished patron of the games of the ancients.



The seats of the people in most of the Greek theatres were so formed as to throw off the rain-water, and at the same time in some degree to prevent the inconvenience from the feet of the spectators seated above.

Upon a portion of a frieze shown in Plate XXII. will be seen a curious and interesting similarity to the various sketches of the present costume, utensils, and habits of the peasants already given in this Journal. The thick tail of the sheep also shows the unchanged breed of the cattle. The tomb, three sides of which are represented in the same Plate, must rank among the

PORTION OF A FRIEZE.

EAST.

SOUTH.

WEST.

THE THREE SIDES OF TOMB AT XANTHUS.

FRAGMENTS OF SCULPTURE AT XANTHUS.

most ancient in its style of sculpture of any in this city, and is strikingly similar to the works of the Persepolitans. In Plate XVIII., the striped clothes of what are probably the attendants on some Bacchanalian procession, are seen in the boy with his torch, at our encampment near Dollomon; the striped cotton dress is very general in this district of Asia Minor.

We cannot have every enjoyment at the same time: to enjoy light we must have shadow. When travelling before in this country, I was amused and instructed by the curiosity and proffered hospitality of the people; but they intruded far too much upon my privacy, and I often wished them away, that I might be alone. In travelling with a Cavass or Tartar, the case is altered. I cannot say upon the whole that I prefer it, always enjoying the attention and kindness natural to humanity, rather than the respect commanded by authority, and I fear I am represented as a very different character with regard to my feelings towards the people, to what I really am. They wish to offer flowers and presents of all kinds, but the Cavass perhaps properly keeps them aloof, and when anything is purchased by me, they name no price, but expect a present: this the Cavass discountenances, and fixes a price upon everything, probably lower than I should be induced to give. He demands hospitality where I before received it voluntarily, and our room is always kept free from the people.

I fancy that the peasants here keep more aloof than usual, from a display of authority on our arrival, which

I much disapproved, but it is, I fear, too common with travellers. The first Zoorigee told some men to move from the path on which they were lying, to let our cavalcade pass, instead of our turning a few steps out of the way. The men said there was plenty of room to pass, upon which the Cavass galloped up to them, as if to trample them down with his horse, and struck them repeatedly upon the head in the most savage manner with his stick, and with these unresisted blows dispersed the party of peasants, who were basking a few hours of their Sunday (Friday) in their own fields, over which probably we were unlawful trespassers. Our train followed, but without the usual welcome to the stranger. The gay clothes, arms, and the power enjoyed by these couriers bearing my firman, is more feared than I like, for I know that all the traveller can want is freely afforded by the people.

CHAPTER VIII.

Patara—Coins—Passage of Mountains—Discovery of the ancient Phellus—Antiphellus—its Tombs—Kastelorizo, the ancient Megiste—Jewels and Costume of the Peasantry—Cassabar—Ancient Trabala?—Singular gorge in the Mountains—Myra—Tombs—Sculptures—Difficult Passage of Mountain—Ancient Isium?—Idmyra—Ruins, Tombs, and Sculptures.

April 21*st*.—This morning we rode down the plain to Patara, which place I have before visited. I again sought the points of the greatest interest—its very perfect theatre, the arched entrance to the city, and clusters of palm-trees; and, owing to the dryer state of the swamp, I was enabled to visit a beautiful small temple about the centre of the ruined city: its doorway, within a portico *in antis*, is in high preservation, as well as its walls; the doorway is of beautiful Greek workmanship, ornamented in the Corinthian style, and in fine proportion and scale; the height is about twenty-four feet. I have sought in vain among the numerous funeral inscriptions for any trace of Lycian characters. I copied the inscription in the Greek language from the wall of

the theatre, which is cut in large well-formed letters, over the eastern entrance of the proscenium*.

In a wood to the east of the city is a solitary instance of a Lycian architectural tomb cut in the rock in the Elizabethan form; but upon the panel of the door are three ill-cut figures, representing a man, his wife, and a child; they are but a few inches high, and have under them the following Greek inscription:

ΕΥΤΥΧΙΩΝΤΩ ΩΔΙΚΑΙΚ
ΤΕΚΝΩΕΠΑΦΡΟ ΑΜ
ΔΕΤΩΜΝΕΙΑ Ω
ΣΕΝΕΚΕΝ †

Upon one of the side mullions are two open hands, with a few Greek letters beneath them. I have seen this device before, but do not think it of a very early age. The following I copied from a pedestal:

ΤΕΜ▲▲▲ΛΑΤΩΝΟΣΠΑΤΑΡΕΙ
ΚΑ▲ΑΝΘΙΩΠΟΛΕΙΤΕΥΣΑΜΕ
ΝΩΔΕΚΑΕΝΤΑΙΣΚΑΤΑΛΥΚΙΑΝ
ΠΟΛΕΣΙΠΑΣΑΙΣΤΗΝΟΣΤΟΘΗ
ΚΗΝΙΑΣΩΝΑΝΤΙΓΟΝΟΧ
ΠΑΤΑΡΕΥΣΑΛΛΩΔΕΜΗΕΞΕΣ
ΤΩΤΕΘΗΝΑΙΕΑΝΔΕΤΙΣΤΙΝΑΘΗ
ΟΦΕΙΛΕΤΩΙΕΡΑΣΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ

* This will be found in the Appendix.

† *Translation.*—"Eutychion to his child Epaphroditus, for the sake of remembrance, ..."

ΔΡΑΧΜΑΣΣΤΗΣΠΡΑΞΕΩΣΚΑΙΠΡΟΣΑΝΓΕ
ΛΙΑΣΟΥΣΗΣΠΑΝΤΙΤΩΒΟΥΛΟ
ΜΕΝΩΕΠΙΤΩΗΜΙΣΕΙ *

The number of coins and common gems of rude cutting that are found here is quite unaccountable. I obtained above thirty coins from a man who said he often brought home a hundred in a day when he was ploughing, and that, if I liked, he would go and find some. One of our men picked up two in crossing a field as he drove in the horses; they appear to be of all dates, but I hope some may be curious, having the Lycian characters upon them. I am delighted to recognize again in one the figure of Bellerophon, similar to the bas-relief in the tomb at Tlos: this is highly interesting, as being found in the valley of the Xanthus. The copper coins of early date found in Lycia are generally extremely small; the Roman and Byzantine are much larger, and consequently more easily seen in the fields. I have obtained several very curious coins, found in the valley of the Xanthus, all having a singular device, a *triquetra* intermixed with the Lycian characters; on the reverse is generally a lion, in various attitudes: the

* *Translation.*—" . . . . . the son of Plato, a Patarean and Xanthian, but having also [?] the rights of citizen in all the cities of Lycia. The cinerary urn, Jason, the son of Antigonus, of Patara, [has provided]. But to another it shall not be permitted to bury anybody else; but if any one bury another, he shall owe two hundred [?] drachmæ, to be consecrated to Apollo; the levying of the fine and the information belongs to any one who chooses, for half the sum."

finest silver ones have the skin of a lion's head only. These coins, although not obtained from Xanthus itself, I am inclined to believe were of that chief city, or perhaps of the country generally at a very early period. I have the coins of most of the other cities, bearing the name of Lycia and the emblems of Apollo, the lyre, or bow and quiver, together with the initials of the particular city to which they respectively belong: their reverse has a beautiful head of the god.

Before leaving the valley of the Xanthus, I must refer to the remaining marked illustrations of its early legends. History tells us that this country was originally peopled from Crete, by a colony which settled here under Sarpedon the son of Europa. Lycus, being afterwards driven from Athens, joined Sarpedon, and from him this portion of the country was called Lycia. The customs of the mother-country are said to have been retained by the colonists. I find in the coins of Crete alone a parallel in size and workmanship to those of Lycia: on seeing coins from Candia, I at first sight claimed them as Lycian. The bull's horns are found as the crest of the ancient inhabitants, and the bull contending with lions is the most common subject of the bas-reliefs. May this not have reference to the family of Europa contending with the wild animals of this country? The lion is seen everywhere throughout the valley of the Xanthus; every bas-relief, tomb, seat or coin, shows the figure or limbs of this animal. Lions still live in its mountains, the goat is found at the

top, while the serpent infests the base of the Cragus, illustrating the imaginary monster of its early fables*. The name of Sarpedon is found upon the monuments, and the conquests of Bellerophon remain stamped upon the rocks and coins. Patara, whose name implies the seat of an oracle, stands at the entrance of a valley: the inscriptions and emblems here are all in honour of Apollo, and the coins of the whole district show his ascendency. I doubt not that many other points of high interest would occur to the classic scholar, but these must be observed by all travellers.

April 22nd, Bazeeryiancooe.—This bay was by the ancient Greeks called Phœnicus, probably from its palm-trees—by the modern Greeks Kalamaki, which means 'reed bay'; but from the precipitous and arid rocks, rising from a sea far too deep even for anchorage, reeds never could have grown here. On the coast of Patara, which is round the point to the westward, and is distinctly divided from this bay by a bold promontory, both reeds and palm-trees are found in abundance. Travelling for nearly four hours through Fornas, and leaving the Scala or little village of Kalamaki below us in the bay, we kept our elevated route to Bazeeryian-

* The vignette on the title-page is drawn from an ancient Greek terra-cotta, representing a chimæra. This extremely interesting relic is the property of Thomas Burgon, Esq., who has kindly allowed me to copy it as an illustration.

"A lion she before in mane and throat,
Behind a dragon, in the midst a goat."—Hesiod.

cooe, or merchants' village, which is situated upon a point of rock commanding a fine view, and is an excellent site from which to make a map of this varied coast. The small islands of Xenagorø near the coast break the monotony of a boundless expanse of sea. The huts are here all built of stones, piled up and lined with mud. The situation is so much exposed to the frequent eddies of wind from the mountains, that it would render the common hut, characteristic of the more sheltered country, unsafe.

April 24th.—From this village we continued our ascent of the mountain for two hours through bold craggy ravines, until we arrived at the village of Kedekleh, which would have been a far better division of our journey than halting so soon as Bazeeryiancooe. Continuing still occasional ascents, we traversed the picturesque heights of this mountain-range, cultivated with small patches of corn, which, as well as the whole vegetation, was fully a month later than in the district we had left in the morning, and the country again assumed the appearance almost of winter. Arriving at the village of Saaret, where our horses required rest, we occupied an hour or two in ascending the mountain which forms the opposite or northern side of this narrow valley, appearing to divide the country from east to west. Our inducement for making this excursion was the number of tombs cut in its rocks, and the Cyclopean walls blended with its craggy top. We were not disappointed: a city has once stood upon its summit,

and walls, gateways and tombs all bespeak the work of the early Greeks; this is borne out also by the form of the letters in the numerous Greek inscriptions, too much effaced by the exposed situation to be deciphered. I have no doubt that this was the ancient Phellus. In four more hours we had passed the high and wild range of mountains forming the southern coast at the back of the ancient Antiphellus: on its summit we encountered a most violent hailstorm, and I never experienced more bitter cold in the depth of winter: large hailstones covered the ground some inches in depth. The awfully grand effect of these storms can scarcely be imagined: the cracking thunder was echoed instantly by the surrounding crags, and then rolled into distant ranges with almost a continuous murmur; the lightning played upon the clouds, which appeared to hover capriciously over fated islands in the expanse of ocean before us, while the sun shone brilliantly on others. The grandeur of such storms is seldom witnessed in the calmer climates of the continent of Europe.

April 25th.—I have been now two days at Antiphellus, and have had more time to devote to the examination of its remains than on my last rapid journey. The inscriptions upon the tombs are so much corroded by time and sea air that many of them are illegible.

ΝΕΙΚΟΛΛΟΥΤΟΥ
ΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΥ *

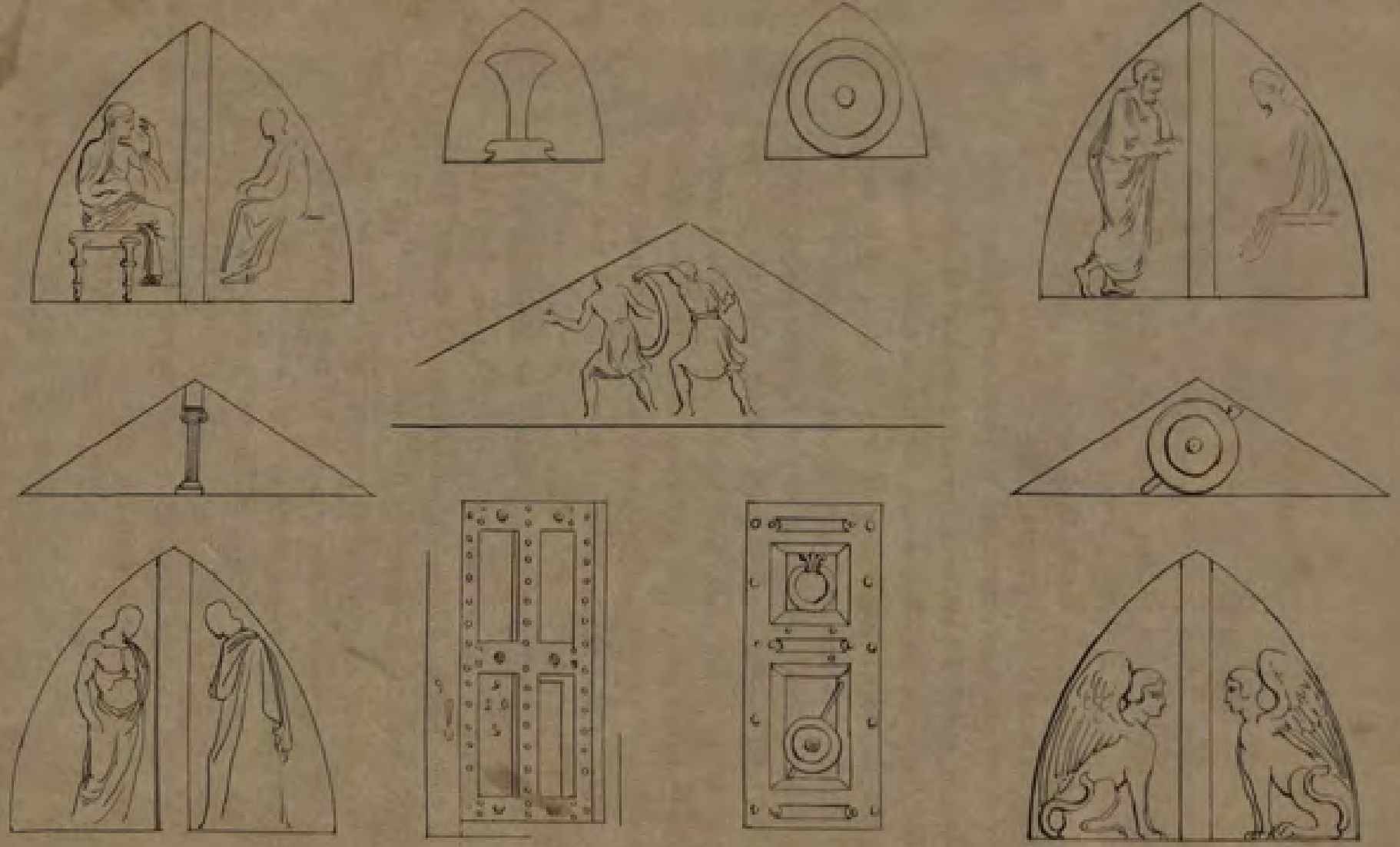
* *Translation.*—"Of Nicolaus, the son of Theodorus."

One or two I admired for their simplicity, and from others gathered the name of the place. I find no bilingual inscriptions with the Lycian; all are Greek that

ΤΟΜΝΕΙΗΟΝΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΑΤΟΕΙΤΥΧΩ
ΝΡΑΓΙΝΤΕΥΤΗΣΤΟΥΑΤΟΛΟΓΩΤΑΤΟΥ
ΜΑΡΛΥΡΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΟΥΕΛΘΟΝΤΟΣΔΑΝ
ΤΙΦΕΛΛΕΙΤΟΥΕΑΤΙΩΚΑΙΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΣΥΤΟΓ
ΕΥΠΛΟΙΙΡΑΙΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΑΥΤΩΝΑΙΟΙΣΑΝ
ΖΩΣΩΝΕΠΙΤΙΕΨΩΙΣΔΕΝΥΠΩΣΟ▲ΙΟΝ
ΕΝΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΣΟΝΤΑΙΤΑΘΡΕΠΤΑΡΙΑΡΟΥ
ΑΛΔΩΔΕΙΜΕΝΕΣΕΣΤΩΕΝΙΕΔΕΤΣΑΙΤΙ
ΝΑΣ▲▲▲ΑΡΑΤΑΥΤΑΠΟΙΗΣΑΣΑΜΑΡΤΟΛΟΣ
Σ▲▲▲ΕΟΙΣΚΑΤΑΧΘΟΝΟΙΣΚΑΙΙΣΟΙΣΕΙ
Π▲▲ΤΕΙΙΙΟΥΤΩΙΕΡΩΤΑΤΩΤΑΙΕΙΟΧΑΦ
ΟΔΕΕΛΕΝΞΑΣΛΗΜΨΤΤΑΙΤΟΤΡΙΤΟΝ *

I have seen, excepting one upon the sarcophagus, which was so distinguished by its beauty of proportion and form, as well as situation, that I sketched it on my last

* *Translation.*—"Eutychon, keeper of accounts [?], to the most distinguished Marcus Aurelius Ptolemæus, coming [to discharge annual functions ?] for the fourth time [?], a citizen of Antiphellus, has built the monument for himself and his wife Eupolis, and their children, and to whomsoever he may in his lifetime give permission. But in the under compartment [?] there will be buried his [?] foster-children. To another it shall not be allowed to bury anybody [here], since he who acts against this shall be a criminal to the gods of hell, and shall pay as a fine into the most holy treasury one thousand five hundred denarii, of which he who proves [the trespass] shall receive one-third."



LIDS or SARCOPHAGI, PEDIMENTS, & DOORS of TOMBS.

journey. This stately monument has a long Lycian inscription; I was prevented copying the whole by the fractures in many of the deeply-cut letters, but have selected from it many perfect words, separated by the usual stops, and these may assist in restoring the knowledge of the language.

I have put together upon the annexed Plate several designs which I have seen upon the ends of sarcophagi, and also some panelled doors, formed of stone; the imitated knocker is like many of ours of the present day. The sphinx represented throughout this country is the eastern, and not that seen in the Egyptian sculptures. The little theatre here is quite perfect, with the exception of its proscenium, which has entirely disappeared: the seats are preserved, and clear to the bottom. The absence of shrubs, which usually obscure so much the interior of the theatres, has tended much to the preservation of this.

Yesterday we went to the island of Kastelorizo, to lay in stores and to refit ourselves with supplies; the distance may be five or six miles from the shore. The town—for it really deserves the name—consists probably of six or eight hundred houses, all built upon one model, being formed like cubes, with two or three open square windows in the front of each, and a door at the back. These are built up the side of a steep rock, and, viewed together, are more singular-looking than picturesque. An old castle of the middle ages crowns the rock, and gives a character to the city.

On landing in this island, the effect was that of visiting a new country: hundreds of Greeks were crowding about the little quay and coffee-houses; wine was being retailed from the cask in the dirty narrow streets; scarcely a dog was to be seen, and pigs supplied their place. We were told that there were five Turks only in the town, the whole population being Greek. A number of small vessels filled the harbour; boats were building, houses rising rapidly, and the whole population seemed active and enterprising: it is quite delightful to see such an intelligent-looking assemblage of people, both male and female, in this busy scene; but a host of pure and simple feelings pass from the mind, and are succeeded by caution and worldliness, which are seldom sufficient to compete with the cunning of the Greek.

This is a metropolis of trade for the whole of the south-western coast: all provisions, and even coins and treasures of every kind discovered by the peasants, find

a ready market here. I have obtained several coins, just brought from the valley of the Xanthus, and also saw some singular gems, but the devices were probably more illustrative of the whims of their former owners than of history.

The island of Kastelorizo, which was the ancient Megiste, is perfectly barren of natural supplies; even the water for the use of the town is collected in large tanks, about a mile up the mountain, whence it is carried by the women, who are continually passing and repassing in most classic groups, with pitchers slung over their shoulders. The jewelry of these people is particularly interesting, being precisely the same as that seen upon the statues of the ancients. I wished much to purchase a bracelet or armlet, but could not obtain any; they are handed down as heir-looms, and, should an additional one be required, it is made expressly from these models, but they are never kept for sale: by this mode the pattern is perpetuated, and I feel certain that we here see the models of the ornaments of the ancient Greeks: several of these are often seen worn on the same arm, serving as the quartering in an heraldic shield, to register the families centered in the living heiress. The jewels, or rather gold ornaments, are often thus accumulated to a great value; some of the people we saw with their savings'-bank, if I may use the expression, around their necks, in twenty or forty piastre-pieces of modern Turkish gold—some chains containing the current value of above a hundred

pounds. But the characteristic ornament of the peasantry of this island is a row of large fibulæ or broaches, of chased silver, three inches in diameter, placed one below the other, from the throat to the waist, which is very low; the rest of the dress is, as I have before described, purely classic in all its forms.

Leaving the path which leads to the fountains, we ascended the heights above the town, to seek the ruins of the city of the early inhabitants of Megiste: some fine Cyclopean walls scattered about the top point out the site, but no further remains are to be traced.

A brisk gale carried us back in less than an hour to our abode at Antiphellus, or, as the little Scala is now called by the Turks, Andiffelo. It consists of only three or four houses and a custom-house: the building in which we have taken up our abode is appointed for the use of strangers, and stands out on a rock into the sea

like a bathing-machine. In our room we are here supplied with, or rather we have found, a mat spread over the floor: this has its disadvantages in a warm climate, for as I reclined upon my mattress, I saw creeping from behind my head up the wall a large scorpion; I had scarcely time to examine its lobster-like appearance before my servant killed it in great haste, wishing, for some superstitious reason, to put it into the fire; its body was about five inches long, the tail and the claws about three, appearing thick and large for its body. Having landed our provisions, and killed a sheep, we were again prepared for a return into the mountains, towards the east, in search of other Lycian cities hitherto unvisited by Europeans.

April 26th, Cassabar.—This place is situated in a large valley, extensively cultivated and watered by a considerable river, formed by three united streams from the south-west, west, and north. The town, or rather large scattered village, is at the south-western end, and has a walled konak, which has probably been the strong-hold of some Derebbe, a bazaar, and a minaretted mosque, the only one I have seen in Lycia. The surrounding soil is deep, rich, and generally arable.

On leaving Antiphellus we ascended the steep mountain-chain towards the north-east for about seven miles, when we came to the little village of Avvalah, with its small cultivated plain. Traversing this, we saw at its southern extremity a sarcophagus and the remains of walls upon the rock above, but of so trifling an extent

that we did not leave our track to examine them. In another hour we gained the summit of this elevated chain of mountains, leaving behind us one of, perhaps, the most beautifully varied coasts in the world. Before us lay a deep ravine, in the chain of richly-wooded mountains, carrying the eye down to this extensive valley, with its winding streams; the whole was bounded by ranges of snowy mountains, while others peered above them, forming the eastern coast of Lycia, extending from Mount Phœnix in the south to Mount Climax in the north.

The hills within the valley, and through which we descended, are of limestone, in thin layers, distorted into most fantastic forms by volcanic heavings; the strata are often shivered into regular squares, some appearing like paving-tiles, and others as small as the pavements of Roman mosaic. This crumbling material is being washed down into the valleys, cutting the hills into deep ravines, which continually crossed the path as we descended their sides. The weather is at this season extremely changeable: we have had storms almost daily; and today, the Easter Sunday of the Greeks, the rain has not yet ceased, and noon is past. On my former travels, during the same season, I was scarcely detained a single day by the bad weather. I hear that it was as remarkably dry as this is a rainy season.

April 27th.—We are now at Myra, the ancient name perpetuated by the Greeks, but called by the Turks Dembre. Yesterday the rain came down in torrents

incessantly, and we remained busily employed in sketching and writing in our little hut, which was scarcely proof against the heavy rain. The night was fair, and as the waters in this region rapidly subside, we started at ten o'clock in the morning for this place, a distance of seven hours, about twenty-five miles.

For the first eight miles we traversed the valley of Cassabar; after crossing three tributary streams from the north, we arrived at a village, where another small river met us from the east. I saw the course of this with surprise, thinking it the stream which we had followed on our right; but the latter had suddenly disappeared, and this new one entered with us a narrow cleft in the rocks to the south: the road and river together did not occupy ten yards of space between the perpendicular rocks, whose sides were here excavated with Lycian tombs. On our right was a rocky mountain, crowned with a towered wall of early Greek construction. This fortified mountain was singularly isolated; it arose almost perpendicularly from our valley, with the rest of the range, and I have said that on the east side it was cut through by a river and our road. On the west, the great river of our valley had disappeared into a still narrower chasm, about a quarter of a mile before we came to this mountain. These streams meet in a deep ravine, half a mile southward, making the rock of this city almost an island. These ruins, from their position, may probably be the site of the city of Trabala.

It is common for people to extol the objects of present excitement above any they have ever seen, but, as I rode for five hours through a pass of the mountains, calling to recollection the scenery of Britain, Germany, Switzerland, Italy, and Greece, I must say that I have never before met with any of this description so magnificently beautiful and so lengthened. It is a gorge unaccountably formed through a range of mountains many thousand feet in height, and so narrow that the river alone occupies the ravine. Our track was down its bed, and we crossed and recrossed its waters, as they rushed from side to side, above thirty times: the stream was generally about four feet deep.

This narrow valley, generally bearing to the south-east, wound about continually, leaving us for the first ten miles apparently locked in by the grandest cliffs of limestone, every ledge nurturing a tree: the extent of our view never exceeded half a mile. The valley then slightly widened, allowing a few luxuriant trees to grow upon the banks of the river: and the goatherd's pipe and the bleating of his flock broke the monotonous grandeur of the sound of rushing waters, which was echoed by the cliffs on either side. For another hour the valley continued narrow, but the cliffs fell back into more wooded mountains, and in an hour more our road suddenly opened upon the plain of Myra: the river, after running four or five miles through these well-cultivated districts, finds its course to the sea.

The fatigue of excitement, from the beauty and sin-

gularity of the scenery, made me rejoice at reaching this ancient city; and the bodily fatigue to the baggage-horses, of wading so often through the rapid water, scarcely left them strength to reach the end of the journey. A few miles before we arrived at the termination of the ravine, several remains of Greek-built towers rose from amidst the trees, on the points of rocks, apparently inaccessible; and at the opening of the ravine commenced the cutting of an aqueduct in the face of the perpendicular cliff, which we traced on our right hand to the ancient city. In following its now broken course, numbers of highly ornamented tombs caught my eye, and promised full occupation for a day or two's sojourn amongst them.

CHAPTER IX.

Ruins of Myra—Tombs—Coloured Bas-reliefs—Ruins—Passage of Mountain to Phineka—Ancient Isium?—Lámyra—Sculptures and Inscription—Ancient Bridge—Gagæ—Excursion by the Promontarium Sacrum to Olympus—A deserted Village—Valley of the Arycandus—Tombs—Ruins—Discovery of Arycanda—its Ruins.

April 28th.—MYRA was among the most important of the Lycian cities, and its ruins appear to be little injured by age. The city must have extended far over the plains, in front of the rock, which has now the theatre at its foot, and a multitude of beautiful tombs cut in its cliff; I say this, judging from the very reasonable arguments advanced by Mr. Cockerell, that the size of the theatre is a good indication of the population of a city. The theatre at Myra is among the largest and the best built in Asia Minor: much of its fine corridor and corniced proscenium remains; the upper seats have disappeared, but the present crop of wheat occupies little more than the area; probably about six feet of earth may have accumulated upon its surface. As an argument against the former great size of the city, I should bring the proportionate small

Drawn & Etched by D. Roberts Jun.

PEDIMENT OVER, & SCULPTURES WITHIN, THE PORTICO OF ROCK TOMB AT MYRA.

number of tombs now existing in the rocks; although, as at Telmessus, many of the inhabitants may have been entombed in sarcophagi on the plain, which have perhaps disappeared; certainly the tombs that remain could not have contained a single generation of the people. The tombs are generally very large, and all appear to have been for families; some having small chambers, one leading to the other, and some highly interesting from their interior peculiarities of arrangement. The external ornaments are here enriched by sculptured statues in the rocks around, and these in the chaste style of the Lycians, whose language, with one exception, is universal in the inscriptions here; but the tombs are mostly without any inscription whatever. The annexed Plate shows a pediment over the entrance to a handsome Ionic tomb cut in the rock; the ornaments below it are within the portico, and are repeated on each side of the door of the tomb, over which is the small bas-relief. The pilaster, surmounted by a lion's head, has a singular effect, and the ornaments retain the marks of having been tinted with various colours. The base of this pilaster is also drawn upon the same Plate.

Within the porticos of several of the tombs (for many of these, like those at Tlos and Pinara, have a lobby or porch) are bas-reliefs in better preservation than those in other cities. Some of these have additional interest from retaining the colours with which they were painted, and removing another of the few doubts I still entertain of these people having been connected with the ancient inhabitants of Etruria. The cus-

tom of colouring their statues, as well as the mode of doing it, and the similarity of the action of the figures, will strike every one. The letters of the inscription were painted alternately blue and red. I must trust to my sketches to represent the sculpture upon the tombs, which is of the finest age for ease, simplicity, and beauty of proportion. The drawing shows a double-fronted Elizabethan tomb, cut in the rock, on the side of the town towards the river; the sculpture is here near to the eye, and does not suffer by a close examination. On the north side of the tomb is sculptured on the rock this fine commanding figure, and in the

Drawn by Chas. Fellows Esq.

Day & Haghe Lith. to the Queen

ROCK, TOMB at MYRA

John Murray, 1841

FIGURES on the SOUTH SIDE of TOMB.

Drawn by G. Scharf, Jun.r

Engr. & Sculp. Lith.rs to the Queen

COLOURED BAS-RELIEFS WITHIN THE PORTICO OF THE TOMB AT MYRA.

John Murray, London, 1844

Plate is shown the outer sculpture upon the south side. The bas-reliefs within the portico are represented in the coloured Plate, the tints of which are exactly those on almost every part of the marble. The youth near the female figure holds in his hand the strigil and oil-bottle, which were used in the gymnasium; the naked boy is upon the mullion of the inner front, and the figure upon the couch faces the grouped subject: the sketches of the bas-reliefs must tell their history, for there are no inscriptions upon the tomb*.

On the plains of Myra are scattered many ruins, but at great distances from each other; and wherever the fine standing corn does not surround them, a swamp is the cause of the want of cultivation, and either of these prevents our close examination. One pile nearer to

* The satisfaction which I derived on my return to Athens, in renewing my acquaintance with the justly celebrated Professor Müller, has made me the more aware of the immense loss which Europe has sustained by the death of one of her greatest scholars in all the vigour of life. I wish that I could remember the many valuable remarks he made upon the subject of my discoveries, in which he took a most lively interest. On seeing the coloured drawing of this tomb, he expressed the following opinion as to the mode of colouring adopted by the Greeks in their works of art:—"The ancients *painted* their bas-reliefs: they only *tinged* their statues; tinging the drapery, leaving the flesh part uncoloured; the wounds and blood were stained, and the ear-rings and ornaments gilded. Their temples were left white, but parts of the frieze and architectural ornaments were coloured, but very minutely. Their temples of coarser materials were plastered, and entirely coloured. The Parthenon frieze was coloured, all the backgrounds of their bas-reliefs were painted."—This was his opinion at Athens, June 26th, 1840.

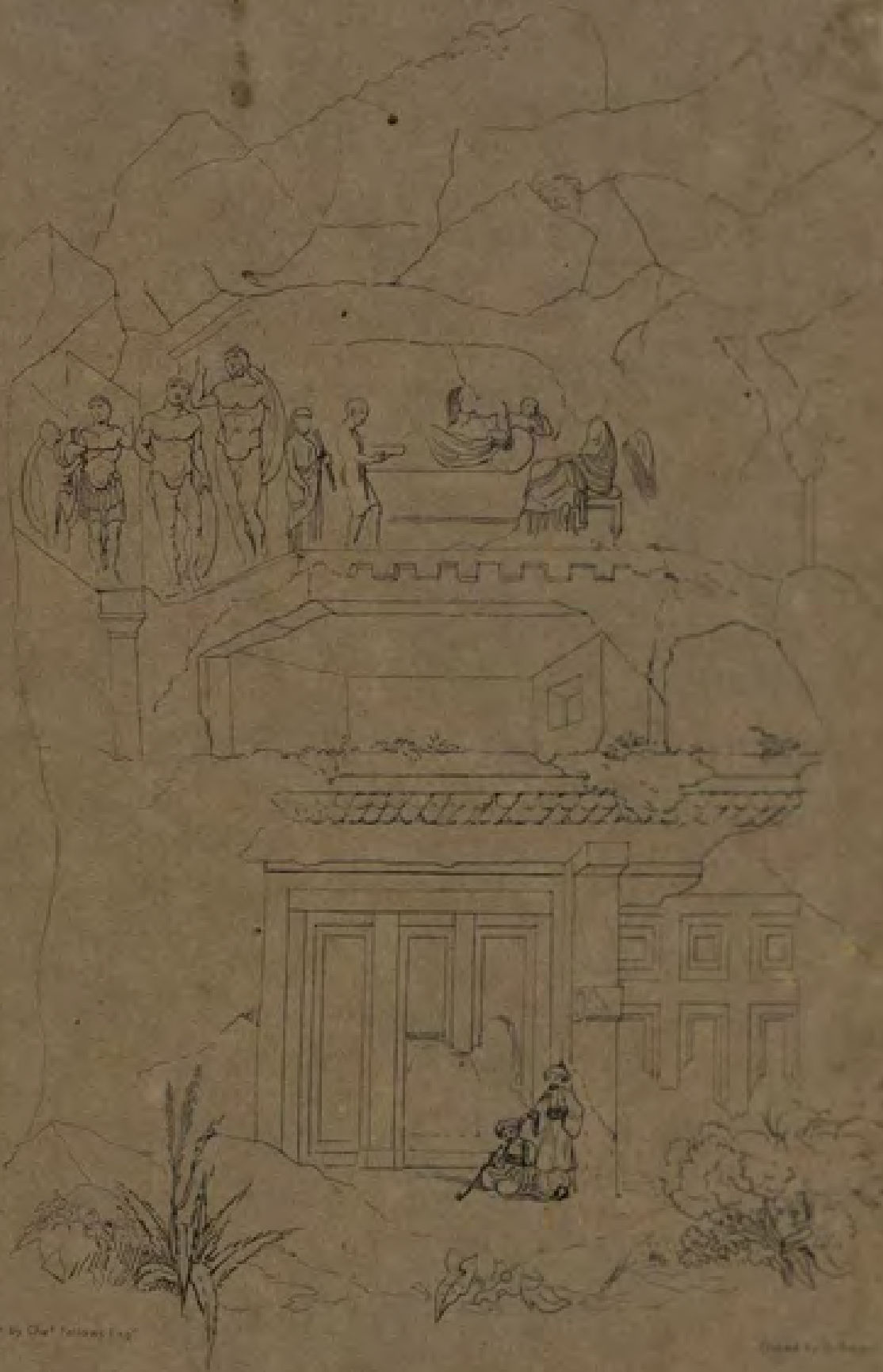
the sea is known, from inscriptions found, to have been a granary built in the time of Adrian. Another clump at a short distance from us is of the middle ages, and until lately boasted the possession of the bones of St. Nicholas; but these have been transported to Russia, and a Greek priest alone remains within the holy walls, which were formerly the object of pilgrimages to the tomb of this favourite saint of the Greek church, whose birth-place is still holy ground at Patara. This saint appears to be more venerated here than St. Paul, who visited Myra on his voyage to Rome*.

The old priest tells us that he alone is left upon the plain after the middle of May, as every hut in this village and on the plain is then deserted for the mountains, on account of the heat and the appearance of an overwhelming number of mosquitos or gnats. A large black fly also appears at that season, which stings the cattle; at its approach they are described running as if mad into the mountains.

Another sketch represents a mass of tombs cut in the rock, near to the theatre; one of these is pointed out by two small figures, and is again drawn upon the following Plate: the Turkish figure below may serve as a scale for the sculpture above, which is colossal.

The following fragment in the Greek language I copied from a rock-tomb, above which were several lines illegible from the filtering of the waters over the rock:

* Acts xxvii. 5.



ROCK TOMBS WITH BAS-RELIEF AT PYRA.

John Murray, London, 1840.

ΤΟΥΤΟΤΟΜ
ΘΝΚΑΤΕΣΥ
ΕΔΡΑΛΣΑ
ΑΒΗΙΤΗΙΟΙ
ΟΥΟΤΟΝΩΝ
ΝΩΝΔΕΣ
ΟΣΘΥΣΙΩΝ
ΠΟΛΙΣΘΥΕΙΚ
ΚΝΟΙΣΑΥΤΗΣ
ΓΑΜΒΡΟΙΣΚΑΙΜ
ΡΙΕΥΕΤΩΤΟΥΜ
ΟΥΑΛΛΗΣΟΠΠΔ
ΚΑΙΤΑΤΕΚΝΑΚΑΙΟ
ΓΑΜΒΡΟΙΑΥΤΗΣΕΑΝ
ΔΕΤΙΣΒΙΑΤΗΤΑΙΑΝΟΙ
ΞΑΙΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝΤΟΥ
ΤΟΠΑΡΕΥΡΕΣΕΝ
ΤΥΜΜΗΝΕΤΚΗΙ
ΚΑΡΠΟΝΜ
ΩΝΕΔΗΒΟΛ
ΚΑΙΑΜΑΡ
ΝΟΙΤΟΕΙΣ
ΝΚΑΙΕΙΣΤΟ
ΥΣΘΕΟΥΣ *

* The greater part of this inscription, which is funereal, is illegible, or left without connection. In the seventh and eighth lines are mentioned sacrifices (or burials, see page 134,) made by the city. Then are enumerated (not named) the persons entitled to be buried in the tomb, viz. the children and sons-in-law of the proprietress. The last lines seem to have contained a curse against him who should attempt to open the tomb, similar to a curse with which the like offence is threatened by Demetrius Phalereus on a tomb-stone now to be seen at Oxford (see Chandler's Marm. Oxon. II. 60): "The earth shall bear no fruit unto him, and he shall be an enemy to the gods."

The following was written within the door of a tomb:

ΑΡΣΑΣΙΟΣ
ΤΗΣΜΥΝΔΟΥ *

The peasants here are very attentive in keeping back their fierce dogs, and rendering any assistance in their power, but they are not antiquarians: they know no distinction between tombs, towers, and theatres, and cannot recognize in the statues the likeness of man. In reply to our inquiries after coins, the people told us that they had collected none, adding that these were the money of Ghiaours, which they would not touch; they went however to inquire if the children had, in ignorance, picked up any, but I regret that the search was unsuccessful. The people say that many Franks have been to see the "old castles" here, but that there are more high up in the mountains to the north, now covered with snow, about three hours' climbing from this place. The improbability of a city of importance having existed in a region where the snows remain so late in the season, and the inconvenience and delay of visiting probably merely some strong-hold of former times, made us resolve to proceed on our route towards Phineka, a distance of nine hours. The Greek priest says that we ought to remain here three years, to see all the ruins in this country.

April 29th, Phineka.—This is a little village, about

* *Translation*—"Of Arsasis the daughter of Myndus."

two miles up a navigable river from the sea; its name resembles that of the ancient appellation of this district —Phœnicus: the indigenous palm-trees reminded me of the origin of the name, unless perhaps the generic name of the plant may have had its derivation from this district.

On leaving Myra this morning, we traversed the plain towards the east, and crossing the river, which was carrying down hundreds of sticks of timber, we ascended a wooded hill to the little village of Vourtarpessa. From this slight elevation we had a fine view of the whole plain, and could study its geography. In the vegetable world I have observed several additions to my already numerous list of luxuriant trees and shrubs: these are the barbery, which is here a large tree, and now in bloom; the castor-oil, the stems of which are as thick as a man's body, and are now in blossom, with formed fruit, and the seed of last year, all clustered beneath the large rich leaf; and the pistacia, called here by the Greeks the chickurea, which has a richer appearance than our dark ash, but not so much so as the carob, which is here the principal tree of the hills, affording a welcome shade at all seasons. At Myra, among the rocks, flourishes a beautiful kind of aloe; the flowers seldom exceed three or four feet in height, and two or three branches spring from its stem; the colour is a rich yellow, and the leaf is like that of a small American aloe*. I observed numerous varieties of the onion

* *Aloe vulgaris.*

tribe, and added greatly to my collection of plants, but travelling is not favourable to their preservation.

On leaving the plains of Myra, we had a fine view of the lake, or rather inlet from the sea, from which it is separated only by a low bank of sand; at the eastern end it is connected with the sea by a channel, and this, being a favourable position for a fishery, is much valued by the Greeks, who have here an establishment for salting the fish. The waters on the coast of this country are generally so deep that fish is by no means plentiful, and is sought to advantage only at the mouth or in the shallows formed by the rivers.

In and upon the swampy sides of this lake is said to have stood a city, and the little streams which occasionally run from the mountains on the east have been supposed to be the ancient Limyrus. Buildings are seen beneath the waters by the fishermen; but the insignificance of the stream, and the low situation for a city, seem to me opposed to the idea of its having been a Greek site. On the hill to the north, about a mile from the lake, we passed a castle or building consisting of two square towers, walled round, all of ancient Greek and good masonry; but we observed no other indication of a former people.

From our road for the next six hours I warn other travellers who attempt to transport their baggage. It is totally unfit for horses, more from the extreme labour of the rapid and unceasing ascent, than from the craggy or dangerous road. For three hours we did not

find a level large enough for a horse to stand upon, and at the end of that time we were among numerous sarcophagi upon the ridge of a mountain about five thousand feet above the undisturbed blue mirror of the sea at its base. Above these tombs was a walled city, accessible only from this northern ridge on which we stood; for it crowned the end of a fine range of mountains, whose summit of snow we now traced, and whose base we had traversed from the north-west towards Cassabar. This was probably the ancient Isium.

What a wonderful people the ancient Greeks were! This mountain country was literally strewed with cities and stately towers, which stand uninjured and unoccupied two thousand years after their builders are removed! Descending from this elevation, we again crossed a lower chain of mountains towards the east, and then rapidly descended to the plain of Phineka. We passed several Greek-built towers, each commanding splendid and extensive views down their several ravines. Near the sea the palm-trees grow as shrubs, and seem indigenous to this part.

April 30th.—To give the horses rest after the fatigue and strain of yesterday, we have this morning walked to examine the remains of the ancient Limyra. Had we been able to cross the portion of the valley opposite —due east of this place—the distance could not have exceeded three miles; but to avoid the swamp, and the tortuous and deep clear streams of various rivers, we had to skirt the plains for more than six miles. We

passed the scattered village of Demergeecooe, inhabited chiefly by Chinganees, who are employed in rearing cattle: we had to send for them to this village to shoe our horses. These gipsies are generally a people possessing considerable property in stock, and are probably induced to form here a larger colony than usual by the extreme luxuriance of the climate: their huts are almost buried amid fruit-trees.

Near this village we crossed most of the streams by bridges, or, when sufficiently shallow, we forded them, and in half an hour reached the ruins of the ancient city of Limyra. A fine stately sarcophagus was the first indication of our approach, and this monument I found to be of high interest, from having upon its front, by the side of the door (which has had a portico), a bilingual inscription, Lycian and Greek. I think this is the one copied by Mr. Cockerell, and published in Walpole's Travels; but I have taken a faithful copy, and hope that it may prove a different one, affording additional assistance in deciphering the language. Hundreds of tombs cut in the rocks, and quite excavating the long ribs of its protruding strata, as they curved down the sides of the mountain, soon came in view, and their examination occupied some hours. The inscriptions were almost all Lycian,—some few Greek, but these were always inferior in execution, some being merely scratched upon the surface, while the Lycian were cut deeply in the stone, and many richly coloured; the letters being alternately red and blue, or in others green, yellow, or red.

LIMYRA.

LIMYRA.

LIMYRA.

Drawn & Engraved by C. Schaaf Jun.

BAS-RELIEFS OVER ROCK TOMBS.

Drawn & Etched by C. Schott [illegible]

BAS-RELIEF OPEN TOMB AT LIMYRA.

[illegible] Murray, London [illegible]

I have copied the two following Greek inscriptions from the rock-tombs; those in the Lycian language will be found in Plate XXXVI.

ΤΟΥΤΟΝΤΟΝΤΑΦΟΝΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑ▲▲ΤΟΕΡΗΑΣΑΣ
ΕΑΨΤΩΙΚΑΙΤΗΙΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΑΥΤΟΥΣΕ▲▲ΙΚΑΙΤΩΙ
ΓΕΝΕΙ▲▲▲▲ΑΥΤΟΥ *

ΓΟΡΜΑΤΙΣΑΡΜΑΛΑΓΙΜΙΟΣΚΑΙΣΕΜΟΙΔΑΕΜΑΤΗΡΑ
ΔΕΛΦΗΙΑΥΤΗΣΞΕΝΟΚΡΙΤΟΥΕΙΝΑΙΔΕΚ ΡΙΟΝΙΟΡΜΜΑΤΙΝ
ΚΑΙΤΟΥΣΕΓΕΙΣΤΘΓΕΝΟΥΣ †

Connected with some of these inscribed tombs were beautiful bas-reliefs, mythological decorations, and battle-scenes—all illustrating the history of the earliest times, perhaps the age of Homer. Some retain their colours, others scarcely their form, as the weather, from their several aspects, has affected them. A spirited battle-scene, shown in the annexed Plate, had various Lycian names written beneath each group, which may serve to illustrate and give increased interest to one another.

Beyond these tombs lay the city, marked by many foundations, and by a long wall with towers. Further

* *Translation.*—"Hermeias [?] has built this tomb for himself and his wife . . . . . and his family."

† This seems to be a funereal inscription in memory of "a woman, Gormatis [?], her sister Semiramis, the wife [?] of Xenocritus, and their family."

on is a very pretty theatre, in front of which winds a river, which suddenly appears in the neighbourhood. Beyond this, stood another fine sarcophagus, sculptured with beautiful bas-reliefs, but in a very mutilated state.

SCULPTURED FIGURES on TOMB at SIKYRA.

This attracted our attention to many more tombs cut in the rocks, in various styles of architecture; some, of the Ionic order, are in high preservation. At the entrance of one of the rock-tombs were sculptured two fine figures, probably mythological, which are shown in the annexed Plate. The tombs here are far more numerous than at Myra, but the size of the theatre bespeaks a smaller population.

May 1st.—Another month has commenced, and how little do I know of Lycia! I shall be obliged to leave much gleaning in this district alone, and still more is undiscovered in Pamphylia: but the province of Lycia, which has never been corrupted by the Roman or Christian styles, and retains the simple beauty of the early Greek, has for me the greatest attractions.

This morning we left Phineka for this village, called Haggevalleh. The distance is five hours, reckoning by time, for we have had again to skirt the plain and repass Limyra. Continuing at the foot of the mountain for two miles beyond that city, we found, quite separated from it, a large collection of ornamented tombs in the rocks, but no walls or indications of another city; these therefore must probably be added to the cemeteries of Limyra. The inscriptions, with a single exception, were all Lycian, and this had Greek letters over one panel, and over the other an Eastern character unknown to me, much resembling the letters upon the coins of Phœnicia*. Still skirting the plains, we

* This Phœnician inscription is given in Plate XXXVI. No. 1.

soon arrived at an ancient Greek bridge, over a very wide but shallow river, having twenty-five arches, all beautifully formed with large tiles. The top of the bridge is quite flat, and paved with the original Greek squared stones, which are of immense size: it is about twelve feet wide, and does not appear to have had any parapets. Near the foot of this bridge is the village of Armootlee, with a substantially-built mosque and towers, apparently of the middle ages, now forming the ruined establishment of the Aga. Another small village near is called Hascooe.

What would be the produce of this plain of Phineka under the management of an active and industrious people! The extreme luxuriance of the soil can alone account for the multitude of cities of the ancient inhabitants, who, if I remember rightly, looked for little produce from foreign nations, and themselves supplied armies larger than ever assembled from other parts of the earth; this mountainous district of Lycia was not wanting in her musters at Troy and Marathon:

> "The warlike bands that distant Lycia yields,
> Where gulphy Xanthus foams along the fields *."

The ruins of this village, I fancy, must be those of Gagæ. They stand upon, and between, two isolated rocks, now literally covered with walls. Under these hills runs a considerable river from the north-east, over which are the remains of an aqueduct that formerly brought water from the opposite mountain for the use

* Iliad, book 2.

of the city. A small theatre also remains, in good preservation. Inscriptions there are none, and, what is more singular, we could only discover one tomb in the rocks. I account for this from the nature of the stone, which is here, as in many similar mounds in the immediate neighbourhood, protruded by volcanic powers, and is so hardened and cracked that to work it is impossible. This may also explain the very inferior workmanship of almost all the walls, which are composed of chips of stone, and even boulders, held together with cement: the theatre and one or two walls are exceptions. The singular protruding hills around are described by Captain Beaufort in his Survey, as appearing from the sea like tumuli. I do not see in the general appearance of the ruins of this place any traces of an after people—no old material built into the walls; but there are several indications of the former existence of a Christian church, perhaps of a late date. Probably these ruins may not be many centuries old. At the present time the Greek Church holds several spots along this coast, sacred to the memory of St. Nicholas, St. John, and St. Paul.

May 2nd.—Leaving Haggevalleh, we passed in half an hour the somewhat large village of Eetheree. The old konak here appeared going to ruin: the new Agas do not take possession of these establishments, but leave them open for any stranger to occupy; should firewood be scarce, a rafter from the roof or planks from the floor are torn up for the purpose.

We skirted the plain of the bay of Phineka, along the richly-wooded slopes of the mountains curving towards the south-east, and afterwards to the south, and arrived in three hours at a village called Phineka-cooe. From this point we ascended a wooded mountain, and descended upon the beautiful little bay formed by Cape Chelidonia, the ancient Promontarium Sacrum, which is carried onwards into the sea by the rocky islands beyond its point. I observed a few tombs cut in the cliffs in this wild neighbourhood. Colonel Leake, in his map, suggests that Melanippe is likely to be found here.

Turning to the north, we followed a ravine which led to a pastoral district inhabited by yourooks, tending their flocks of sheep; and after traversing for three hours this bold but rich scenery, we took an easterly direction, and descended rapidly the deep ravine leading to the bay of Atrasarny. We soon after passed some high peaks of rocks, which appeared as if the mountain had been built up by a Cyclopean people and an earthquake had shaken down their gigantic structures. After a ride of seven hours we arrived at the village of Atrasarny, every hut of which was completely concealed in an orchard or labyrinth of fruit-trees. I amused myself by noticing the various kinds*, all probably scattered here by nature, for I find several

* Pomegranate, vine, orange, apricot, peach, walnut, carob, almond, mulberry, pistacia, pear, gegefer and fig; above and amidst the rocks were the olive, plane, oak, stone-pine and cypress.

of the Turkish names of the villages imply their natural productions of fruit.

The scenery of this promontory is unique, in its combination of sublime grandeur with the most luxuriant richness of vegetation. The stems of many myrtles, through extensive woods of which we rode yesterday, were a foot in diameter, and generally six or eight inches; the strawberry-arbutus and the daphne-laurel are here large trees. In the animal world nature exhibits less variety. How I envy its universal tongue! the birds sing the same song, and all the various flocks have the same voice—their instincts are universal. This morning flies bit the horses, swallows skimmed over the ground, and rain followed in torrents; the cattle all turned their backs to the beating storm, and the sea-birds flew to the shore. I was amused by watching a chameleon which crossed my path, about eighteen inches long, and with its tail curved upwards, walking exactly as we should do on all fours; its fore-legs had the same motion as our hands would have, at each step contracting the palms and lifting the feet unnecessarily high from the ground. The motion of this singular but beautiful little animal is very slow, its rolling eyeballs and quick tongue moving almost too rapidly to be perceptible; I observed that its colour varied, without the animal being in any way alarmed, as it passed the several shades of the earth, the grass, and the rocks. We have shot a few of the birds of gay plumage, the Bee-eater and the Roller, for their skins;

but the trouble of preparing the whole myself is greater than I can undertake, knowing from my collection on the last journey that few of these birds differ from those which annually visit England. Among the flowers, the most striking now in bloom is the splendid snake-grass (*Arum dracunculus*). The beauty of this is quite overlooked by the flower-admiring Turk, who holds it in disgust entirely on account of its fetid smell; while the most minute flower, and even the budding leaves of the walnut and other trees, are continually presented from one to another on account of their sweetness.

May 3rd.—We have hitherto had but few disappointments arising from the accounts of ruins given by the people, but we have now lost several days, owing to the variety of names for the same village, and to the misrepresentation of the ruins by a Greek priest, who told us of a beautiful temple and columns, and other remains, in the mountain: the name of the place was Cheralee. In our search for this, we have merely come to the Genoese town of Deliktash, upon the coast, which I have before visited and described as the ancient Olympus. It certainly does contain the basement of the walls of a temple, but there is no appearance of its ever having had columns; nor is it at all seen above the wilderness of bushes and Genoese walls by which it is surrounded. I find that the name given to the coast generally is Cheralee. Probably from the circumstance of the Greeks visiting this place from the sea only (on their trading expeditions for firewood, with

which this coast abounds); the description of the ruins given by them differs much from the accounts of persons who could compare them with the ruined cities of the interior. A ride of two hours from Atrasarny, through a deep ravine between high cliffs and peaks of rock standing out boldly from the pine forests beneath, brought us to the sea at Deliktash. Disappointed at finding myself in a place I cared little to see again, we turned our horses' heads and retraced our steps up the ravine; and keeping along its rapid little river, in less than two hours we arrived at a few houses called, from the river, Chicooe.

On entering the village, we had difficulty in finding any inhabitants, which was afterwards thus accounted for: during the old system of governing this country, every facility was given by the Pashas, and all grades of officials under them, for cultivating the ground and increasing and maintaining their own influence: this individual exertion, and the capital lent by these governors for the purchase of seed, together with pecuniary assistance to increase the stock, are now withdrawn, and the various Pashas have sent to seize upon all the stock and crops of last year for the full payment of their loans. The distress is consequently very great: the barley, which is in Asia Minor the food of horses only, has been all consumed by the people, and until the corn ripens they are living almost wholly upon herbs. In other cases, as in this village, where the crops were derived from different sources, such as fruit,

silk, or tobacco, the people, on being deprived of all their harvest, have left the place: only two families remain to represent Chicooe, which is described as having had within these two years a large and wealthy population: the fences, fountains, sheds, and cultivated mulberry-trees confirm this account. This is the natural consequence of so great and sudden a change of system; in a few years it may perhaps work better, but the Turk still has the same manners, and as yet—but his days are numbered—commands the peasantry.

Our cavalcade was shunned by the few remaining villagers, under the idea that we were Turks, who, when they pass through, consume the little store of the half-ruined people; and, if not supplied, the whip is applied to make them seek it from the flocks. When the villagers were told that we were willing to pay for what we required, and a few eggs were purchased at the rate of six for a penny, supplies were brought from all quarters—fowls, milk, butter, youghoort and honey.

May 4th.—We are again at Armootlee. Leaving our fruitful little village on the river of Olympus, we continued a steep ascent towards the west for nearly three hours, passing from the mountain-limestone of the high crags encircling us, over an isolated mound (about half a mile in extent) of granite and other volcanic productions, accompanied of course by a zone of slaty, hard-baked and shivered limestone. Within a few miles of this spot, toward the north-east, is the Yanah Dah, or Burning Mountain, which I regret being unable to visit; there is a small aperture in the rock, through which a stream of inflammable gas has issued continually, and unvarying, from time beyond the reach of history; it is mentioned by Pliny, and is now, as formerly, connected with many tales of superstition. Some writers have supposed this phenomenon to have identified these mountains as the scene of the Chimæra. Their tops are much frequented by eagles and vultures, and the district is that of Mount Phœnix. Whence had we the emblem of the Phœnix rising from the flames?

On the summit of the mountain we were ascending stood the village of Ballintayer, which commanded a splendid panoramic view, including the range of high mountains on the eastern coast—broken by the deep gorges in which stand the ancient cities of Olympus and Phaselis. The beauty of the natural scenery is unaltered, and the blue sea stretches across the openings in the mountains, carrying the eye on to the extended and snow-capped range of the Taurus until it is lost

in the horizon. Traversing the wooded summit of this mountain, we kept on a westward course, until a rapid descent brought us down upon the valley at Eetheree: a ride of two more hours along the plain completed our journey.

Not having in this excursion found the ancient city of Corydalla, I feel sure that it must lie up the valley at the north of Gagæ; but being unable to hear of any ruins there, and having wasted several days, I shall leave this city for others to explore, and tomorrow proceed on my way toward the interior of the country.

May 5th.—My tent is pitched about twenty miles up the valley of the ancient Arycandus, to the north of Limyra. A journal, after all, is only a register of the state of the mind as impressed by the objects of the day; I shall therefore not hesitate to describe my own feeelings, and confess that I never felt less inclined or less able to put to paper any remarks than the impressions produced by my ride during the last five hours. I have heard others speak of a melancholy being caused by the overwhelming effect of the sublime; but it is not melancholy when better analysed; it is a thoughtfulness and feeling of gratified pleasure which affects me, and I long to express what perhaps is better indicated by the prostration of the Oriental worshiper than by any verbal description; I feel as if I had come into the world and seen the perfection of its loveliness, and was satisfied. I know no scenery equal in sublimity and beauty to this part of Lycia.

The mere mention of mountain scenery cannot give any idea of the mountains here, which are broken into sections forming cliffs, whose upheaved strata stand erect in peaks many thousand feet high, uniting to form a wild chaos, but each part harmonized by the other; for all is grand, yet lovely. Deep in the ravines dash torrents of the purest water, and over these grow the most luxuriant trees; above, are the graver forests of pines upon the grey cliffs, and higher than these are ranges of mountains capped with snow, contrasting with the deep blue of the cloudless sky. But to the details of the road.

Recrossing the ancient Greek bridge, which I find to be four hundred and sixty-two yards in length, we again passed the ruins of Limyra and its extended district of tombs, to the village of Demergee, at which place we took a northerly direction up the narrow valley of the river, probably the ancient Arycandus. About six miles from Limyra, we saw on the brow of a cliff above us some beautiful tombs, in such good preservation that they appeared but the work of yesterday. On examination I found that this was effected in the following manner: the overhanging rock was carefully sloped into a roof, and a regular gutter cut in this, carrying off all the dripping water from the sculptured tomb, which thus remains unstained as on the day of its formation, above two thousand years ago. My disappointment as well as surprise was great, that such beautiful and important tombs should not have been inscribed

or painted; there were about twenty, in the same rock, one representing novelties in architecture somewhat Persian*, and more perfect than we had before seen. These tombs are now closed with wooden doors, and serve as the locked granaries of the peasantry in the neighbourhood. I have carefully sketched one of them†, which stands upon the top of the cliff; the rock has been cut away, leaving it a solid piece with the cliff. I have selected this tomb, as showing perhaps more distinctly than usual that these monuments are close imitations of wooden buildings. This is perceptible in most of the tombs in Lycia; but here are seen imitations of the ties, bolts, joints, and mouldings so peculiar to the art of carpentry. No trace whatever of a town is visible, but the situation led us to seek Arycanda. Two miles further up the valley, many broken sarcophagi of a heavy form lay on the side of the mountains, and by the road several walls were built into the rocks; three piles of buildings, with arched windows and small apartments, stood within a few hundred yards of each other. This must have been an ancient town, but not of much importance, judging from the rude materials employed.

Proceeding onwards for an hour more, walls and sarcophagi were scattered around us, but on none of these were any inscriptions legible: they all occupied sites worthy of the ancients, indeed in this valley it would

* See Plate IX. No. 10. † See Plate XII.

be difficult to find any otherwise. The Turks generally select the low swampy plain, and we have consequently not yet seen in this valley any village. We are in our tent, on a knoll or promontory standing over the river, which dashes round three sides of our encampment, some hundred feet beneath. The fir-trees around are a study for an artist, and the high mountains above us vary in beauty according to their aspect. I have just discovered that we are not entirely shut out of the world; the crowing of a cock attracted my attention to the beautiful over-shot wheel of a water-mill, and the owner is wading across the stream with eggs and provisions for our meal.

May 6th.—We have reached Avelan, about twenty-five miles north-west of our last night's encampment. For ten miles the road continued up the river, occasionally crossing and recrossing it by bridges of the simplest construction, the lofty trees reaching from the rocks on either side, and a number of smaller ones being laid transversely. The scenery only changed its beauties: the richer fruit-trees disappeared as we gradually ascended, and the pines and walnuts succeeded; the plane still shadowed the course of the river, its branches stretching over the roaring stream. The rocks became less craggy and wooded, and gradually assumed the wilder grandeur of mountains, the fir-trees clothing their sides up to the snowy tops. The river, I may now say with certainty, is the Arycandus; for at about thirty-five miles from the sea, and ten on our journey

of today, we found the extensive ruins of a city, and in one inscription the name of Arycamda. There is great excitement and pleasure in discovering these cities, once so splendid, and whose sites even have been for twenty centuries unknown.

Close to the road on our left, and standing upon a precipitous promontory, at the foot of which wound the river, were the ruins of a city, but apparently one of those I should class as Venetian or Genoese. Some hewn stones around the doors, and a few columns, as well as the corner-stones of the walls, showed the power of execution; but the rest of the numerous buildings were formed of small stones, unhewn and held together chiefly by cement, which I have never found to be the case in those of the early Greeks. No theatre or other public building was visible; and seeking elsewhere for more remains, I saw at the distance of a mile and a half, up the side of the mountain on our right, massive Greek walls of considerable extent. Leaving our horses, we went to explore them, and soon found an inscription, but too imperfect for me to copy the whole without much trouble, and awaiting the change of light. The name of Arycamda, however, caught my eye, and

ΤΩΑΥΤΟΥΘΕΜΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΙΑΤΤΙΚΟΥΑΡΥΚΑΜΔΕΙ *

* *Translation.*—"To Themistocles, a citizen of Arycamda, the son of Lytus [?], from Attica."

we copied the line containing it, without reference to any other part of the inscription, and then proceeded through the numerous tombs around, hoping to find others more perfect. The absence of other inscriptions, and the interesting names of Themistocles and Attica occurring in this fragment, which I did not notice until I was many miles distant, make me regret my want of perseverance in not endeavouring to copy the whole: there were four preceding lines and one following.

Passing the tombs, we saw that this highly-ornamented city had been built on the side of a steep mountain, and that the buildings had formed terraces one above the other. To one series of these I cannot give a name; they were generally rooms twenty to thirty feet square, covered by one fine arch, the walls Cyclopean—built into, and with, the rock behind: the front alone was visible, the roof often serving as a terrace for buildings above. The beautiful execution of the doorways in front, which were coeval with the Cyclopean walls, may be seen from the accompanying sketch.

The large doorway represented in the subjoined woodcut is in the centre; within, the arched roof was generally plastered, and had been painted; along the back, and half way down each side, was a raised bench, five feet wide, the height suitable for a seat, but far too deep; there was no appearance of recesses for lamps or other purposes, usually found in the mausoleums of the ancient Greeks.

These buildings appear too large for tombs, and they must have been, I think, small for temples. The ornaments were not funereal, and no inscription occurred but the following.

NHKA *

* "It conquers"?

The above inscription was cut upon the wall of one of these buildings, of the Corinthian style of ornament, and is a strong argument for their having been temples; it may also be of interest to the moralist, probably describing the exultation of the Christians of the Byzantine age over the vanquished Pagans; how soon did the Christians disappear before the Moslems, and how has time robbed both of this now ruined and deserted district! I should attribute the style of these buildings to the time of the Roman emperors; they are not sufficiently simple in their ornaments for an earlier age. A coin found amidst the ruins, and copied in Plate XXXV. No. 3, bears the name of the city Arycanda, and the head of the emperor Gordian.

At the back of the theatre, which stood still higher up the mountain, was a wall, with buttresses to oppose the avalanches of stones rolling down a slight ravine in the rocks; but this has given way before the masses which have fallen during so many centuries, and have buried the back or centre seats of the theatre; the rest were quite perfect, and the proscenium could be traced by its bold Cyclopean walls. Below the theatre was a platform, which had seats on the rising side of the rock and at the ends; this I imagined to be a stadium, but the length of the course was only eighty yards. The most conspicuous building in the city had several halls, and two tiers of windows at the end; some of these halls terminated (like several others I have seen in Greek cities) with a fine arch and a circular end;

within this recess were windows, the whole being on a large scale. There were numerous other piles of ruins, to which I can give no name, as well as several detached kind of towers, of fine massive Greek structure: these are scattered at some distance from the ruins of the city.

Leaving Arycanda, we in half an hour crossed a river, which appeared suddenly from the mountains to the east, forming a main tributary to the Arycandus; the city might therefore be said to be at the head of the river as soon as it became worthy of a name. This valley, as we continued its ascent, became more wild, and fir-trees and cedars alone remained to clothe the rocks; the few patches of cultivation indicated a change of season, caused by our increased elevation. The corn, which we had the day before seen changing colour for the harvest, was here not an inch above the ground, and the buds of the bushes were not yet bursting.

Having left the course of the river for about three hundred yards, we found on our return that its bed was dry. Riding up the stony ravine until we reached a ridge, we descended slightly for about a mile and a half to Avelan, which consists of only three houses: although in a comparatively cold region, we have preferred the tent to the stable-like accommodation these huts afforded.

CHAPTER X.

Avelan—its Lake—Extensive Plains—Disappearance of a River—Almalee—its Population—Mosques—Trade—Site of ancient city, probably Podalia—Source of Rivers—Passage of Mountain—High Plains—The Yecilassies—Annual Migration of the Tribes—Valley of the Xanthus—Macry—Rhodes—City of Rhodes—Sailors—Lavisse—Carmylessus—Return to the Yecilassies—Review of Lycia.

May 8th, Almalee.—This district is entirely unknown to Europeans, and has quite a distinct character from that of the country through which we have before passed: no maps of course exist. The disadvantages of this are very great, as we know not where to steer or what places to ask for; but there are also advantages, and the surprise on arriving last evening at Avelan was one, for at this elevation (above three thousand feet above the sea) we found a large lake, three or four miles wide and ten long, and a plain of three times that size covered with corn just springing above the ground, without a tree to break the perfect monotony of the level. At the north-east end of this plain stands the largest town in Lycia—almost the largest in Asia Minor; it far exceeds the size of Idin, and probably

contains twenty-five thousand inhabitants. We were in some degree prepared to expect this, by the hundreds of people we yesterday met on the road, at the distance of twenty miles, returning from the market held in this town. Our road today for the first six miles skirted the lake to the north and north-west, and at the foot of mountains covered with cedars and large trees of the *arbor vitæ*. The shrubs are the rose, the barbary, and wild almond, but all are at present fully six weeks later than those in the country we have lately passed. I observed on the lake (called by the people Avelangouluh) many stately wild swans, and several large red-ducks; smaller waterfowl were numerous.

This plain is the largest tract of corn-land, and the best cultivated, that I have seen in Asia Minor. The season is late before the state of the ground allows the use of the plough, as for several weeks after the snow disappears this dead level remains too swampy for culture. The extensive lake has apparently no river running from it, but the singular disappearance of a rapid and large stream of water, probably thirty feet wide and six deep, which crossed our track over the plain about three miles from this place, may suggest other modes of dispersing the water besides evaporation. The river of which I speak rushes into a large cave in the mountain with a tremendous roar, and is lost amidst the masses of rocks deep in its dark recesses. The cavernous limestone of this district fully accounts for the sudden appearance of several rivers in the plains of

Phineka; among these I may mention the one at Limyra, and probably the Arycandus, which we lost sight of so abruptly near the top of the mountain, as well as its great tributary near the ancient city.

A few hundred feet above the plain of Almalee, to the eastward, is another, many miles in extent and covered with corn; each of these has its villages on the rise of the surrounding mountains. Upon my remarking the very few minarets of mosques seen on entering this town, I heard that most of the inhabitants were Armenians and Greeks. The houses of the town are good, but entirely built of mud and timber; consequently even the garden-walls, chimneys, and gateways have a wide roof of thin warped boards, giving an unsightly appearance to the whole town. The principal mosque is the handsomest I have seen out of Constantinople. The ornaments of the minaret, cut in stone, are a beautiful specimen of the best arabesque. The minarets of some of the other mosques are entirely formed of wood. Water, the indispensable element to the Turk, runs through each street, and several mills are turned by the streams. Around the town, and up the ravines in the steep mountains at the back, are excellent gardens, well cultivated with the vine and other fruit-trees, but the almond alone is yet in bloom. The surrounding mountains have not even a bush upon them, and the fire-wood for this town is brought from the forests of cedars which we had passed on the mountains. For a few pence, a load

of excellent cedar was placed at our door, showing in its fracture the rich colour of the wood of our pencils; and as we walked upon the house-top in the evening, the smoke from the various chimneys quite scented the air with the perfume of cedar-wood. The evening view from the roof of our khan was very picturesque; the cry of the Iman from the mosques, the bells of the camels, and rattling bills of the cranes upon the surrounding roofs, the varied costumes of the people in the streets, with jewels and coins on the heads of the females, into whose harems* our exalted situation commanded a view, added a peculiar interest and beauty to the scene.

A variety of trades are here carried on by this active people. Tanning is among the chief, but this is unaccompanied by the disagreeable odours of an English tan-yard; the tan is here of the Velanea, and gives the well-known scent to Turkey leather: the scent of the Russian leather is still more agreeable. I observe camels loaded with roots, resembling very fine horse-radish†: this is found plentifully here, and used in making a sweetmeat; but it is principally obtained as a substitute for soap, and used in the raw state. Several woods and roots used in dyeing are also articles of merchandize in this town, and there is a considerable trade in the skins of hares.

* The harem is the portion of the house of the Turk set apart for the use of his family.

† The *Silene*.

I was somewhat surprised to learn from my servant that the people are so well informed as to the nature of the disappearance of the waters into the earth, which I have already noticed; such phænomena being here, and even in parts of our own country, accompanied by traditionary superstitions; a person in our khan told my servant the following tale. Seven years ago there was very little snow during the winter, and the following summer was unusually dry; the consequence was the perfect exhaustion of the supplies of this stream, and the cave ceased for above a month to receive any waters. The Pasha by rewards induced five men to explore the cave with torches; the relator of this account said that he was among the number, and that they walked for three hours along a level sandy plain within the mountain. The following year the season brought as great a deluge as the former did a drought; the whole plain of Almalee was a flood, like the sea, and many of the mud houses were wash d away. The consequences of the cessation, and again the rush of turbid water, were successively felt in the rivers which rise in the plains of Phineka around Limyra. The lake here is permanent, and seldom less than at present; but the annual floods, on the melting of the snows, render a great portion of the plain a morass until about the end of April.

I have observed that here, at Kastelorizo and other places where the Greek population is considerable, the governor of the town always sends a guard or police-

man to wait on the outside of the door of our room. I have frequently declined this honour as unnecessary, but the reply has always intimated that we and our property are, while in the town, under the protection of the governor, and that he cannot answer for the honesty of all the people. This has never occurred in the towns where the number of the Greeks was small.

May 9th.—On leaving Almalee this morning, our road lay towards the north-west, rising considerably as we wound round the girth of the mountain, at the foot of which the town is built. From the elevation we attained, the extensive valleys, all green with the springing corn, were traced to an immense distance. A branch of the great plain wound beneath our hill, and at the end of this we descended through the village of Esky-Hissâ, which was said to be full of ruins; its name implies an ancient city. Two or three tombs in the rock, without inscriptions, and a rude Cyclopean wall, are all the works of art that remain on its site, well formed by nature for a fine city: this may probably have been the ancient Podalia. At the pointed end of this plain a river enters it from the mountains, which we found was formed by the united waters of two considerable streams from the north-east and north-west, which joined a few yards above. Up the ravine of the latter, from the north-west, we followed a good track by the side of the rapid and picturesquely-broken torrent: the high rocks rose abruptly on either side, and the space for the road and river was so narrow, that the

asses loaded with wood had to wait in recesses of the rocks while we passed. At the distance of a few miles up this ravine, on the face of the rock, which stood out and caused the waters to change their course, was cut in a somewhat rude style this monument: if it was

funereal, the tomb had not been opened, nor did there appear to be any chamber in the rock. We found no tombs, nor any traces of an ancient site in the neighbourhood, but all was wild and rocky. From the natural portal formed by the rocks, I should have fancied this a barrier between two districts, and the inscription may record it*.

* Milyas was the ancient name of the whole of this elevated district of Lycia.

We continued our ascent through the same ravine, and, at the distance of nearly twenty miles from Almalee, reached the abrupt source of the river, gushing out of the mountain-side in a picturesque cascade, and falling into the bed of the rippling stream, along which our course still continued towards the snow mountains to the north-west. This stream is one of the sources of the river, which disappears in the plains of Almalee. Ascending through a winterly climate, with snow by the side of our path, and only the crocus and anemones in bloom, we soon stood upon the summit of this barren part of the range, at a height exceeding five thousand feet. From hence we beheld a new series of cultivated plains to the west, being in fact table-lands, nearly upon a level with the tops of the mountains which form the eastern boundary of the valley of the Xanthus. Still far above us, to the south-west, stood Massicytus, a stupendous snow-mountain, by far the highest in Lycia. To the north-west was the lofty range giving source to the river Xanthus, and forming a high snow-capped wall of partition to the elevated country of Phrygia, whose table-lands lie but a little below the summit of the range. Descending to the plain, probably a thousand feet, we pitched our tent, after a ride of seven hours and a half. Upon boiling the thermometer, I found that we were more than four thousand feet above the sea, and, cutting down some dead trees, we provided against the coming cold of the evening by lighting three large fires around our encampment. The

effect of both the light and heat of the sun is extremely powerful, and the night-air in this climate keen and frosty. The moon and stars in this atmosphere, lighting the snowy mountain-tops, had an effect singularly calm and sublime, and their cold white light contrasted strongly with that of the blazing branches of the *arbor-vitæ* upon the piles of burning embers, around which, in their richly-coloured costumes, lay our sleeping attendants. This tree grows on these mountains to a large size, its height being generally above forty feet, and the diameter of its stem above three: it is probably a Cyprus, but of a species differing from any I have before seen. The trees here must be many centuries old.

All the names of the villages in these high districts terminate in *-yeeilassy*, which means a cool place, a summer place; and most of them have their corresponding village in the valleys. This plain, called Satala-yeeilassy, is occupied by a people who in the winter months live at Satala-cooe, our next stage on the way to Macry. Another adjoining plain is called Carachewfathers-yeeilassy, in which place we had been told that extensive ruins existed, but on approaching it we could hear nothing of them; nor were any ruins known to exist in this elevated valley or plain, which is probably ten or twelve miles in length. Several fragments of sarcophagi and pedestals were scattered over the plain, from one of which I copied the following inscription, but I could discover no site of any ancient city.

ΔΔΔΔΝΔΔΔΜΑΙΟΓΔΙΟΡΝΟΥΟ
ΛΛΔΔΙΟΓΕΝΕΙΣΙΔΙΟΝΠΑΤΡΙ
ΔΙΟΓΕΝΕΙΜΟΛΗΤΟΥΜΝΗΜΗΣ
ΕΝΕΚΕΝ *

We descended a few hundred feet towards the west, to another plain of equal extent, watered by a stream, which, by the addition of the waters from the plain above, and also of others on the north, had assumed the character of a considerable river.

For six hours we travelled over this highly-cultivated but late-seasoned district, when we turned towards the south-west, and passed over a slight barrier of wooded hills. At the point where we quitted the plains, we observed considerable remains of old materials lying about the rocks, and also several ornamented sarcophagi in the burial-grounds of the Yourooks, but could observe no satisfactory site for a city, nor any foundations of walls.

In three hours we halted in a forest upon a high ridge, but some way down the gradual descent which led us again into the valley of the Xanthus. The river had kept a more northerly course, and was hurried down a precipitous ravine to the gorge at the back of Hoorahn, which, I have before said, supplied almost the whole of the waters to the Xanthus. I had difficulty in imagining how so great a volume of water could find

* The first lines of this fragmentary inscription contained the names of some brothers, each having the cognomen of Diogenes, who erected this "to the memory of their father Diogenes, the son of Moletus."

its way through an apparently unbroken snow-capped range of mountains, but the occurrence of the high plains almost upon the level of their summits explains all the phænomena of this singular country. Having sought in vain around the whole range of Mount Massicytus for the ruins of the city of that name, which was known to lie at its foot, I now feel sure that the ruins at Hoorahn are those of the ancient city. I have two coins found in the neighbourhood belonging to Massicytus; and their form, emblems, and reverses are the same as those of the other cities in the valley of the Xanthus, each being distinguished only by the initials of their respective towns. This, together with the fragment of an inscription found there, and the situation and relative importance of the ruins, makes me feel confident that this was the ancient Massicytus.

May 10th.—No place is without its interest: before pitching our tent, we found two natural springs gushing from the rocks close by, and trees already burning* afforded us an ample supply of fire. Some old walls, the ruins of a Turkish khan, attracted our attention, being composed of portions of old sarcophagi, from which I copied the following fragment of an inscription; but I fear it will not afford information as to the former inhabitants of this most beautiful spot; no appearance of a town could be traced amidst the thicket upon the precipitous cliff before us.

* See Journal of 1838, p. 257,—mode of felling trees.

ΔΔΑΩΝΕΑΥΤΩΤΜΔ
ΔΔΙΔΕΤΟΥΠΟΣΟΡΙΟΝΔ
ΔΠΝΕΤΟΜΕΝΟΙΣΔΣΓΕΔ
ΔΩΜΙΤΙΝΔΙΤΕΚΝΤΟΕΜΔ
ΙΔΙΑΤΑΤΗΤΩΑΔΝΟΛΠΗΔ
ΜΔΔΝΠΙ
ΙΛΕΚΛΙΑΤΟ
ΠΩΣΕΜΙΛΕΤΙΠΑΔΤΑΥΤΔ
ΕΩΝΑΙΙΜΩΔΗΝΑΙ ΧΕΙΛΙΔ
ΕΚΑ
ΝΑΙΚΥΛΗΝΕΙΣΕΠΗΑΙΔΔΔ
ΝΤΑΙΤΣΧΕΙΑΤΑΚΑΙΕΤΑΤΑΔ
ΙΤΗΔΝΤΑΜΑΤΑΤΑΓΜΑΙΣΔ *

The interest of our halt was greatly increased by our observing an almost uninterrupted train of cattle and people moving from the valleys to the cool places for the summer season—the *yeeilassies*. I was much struck by the simplicity and patriarchal appearance of the several families, which brought forcibly to mind the descriptions of pastoral life in Bible history. What a picture would Landseer make of such a pilgrimage! The snowy tops of the mountains were seen through the lofty and dark green fir-trees, terminating in abrupt cliffs many thousand feet of perpendicular height. From clefts in these gushed out cascades, falling in torrents, the sound of which, from their great distance, was heard only in the stillness of the evening, and the

* Fragment of a funereal inscription. In the last line but three, the fine (more than 1000 denarii) is named, which is to be paid to the people of a town, the name of which has disappeared.

waters were carried away by the wind in spray over the green woods, before they could reach their deep bed in the rocky ravines beneath. In a zigzag course up the wood lay the track leading to the cool places.

In advance of the pastoral groups were the straggling goats, browsing on the fresh blossoms of the wild almond as they passed. In more steady courses followed the small black cattle, with their calves, and among them several asses, carrying in saddle-bags those calves that were too young to follow their watchful mothers. Then came the flocks of sheep and the camels each with their young; two or three fine-grown camels bearing piled loads of ploughs, tent-poles, kettles, pans, presses, and all the utensils for the dairy; and amidst this rustic load was always seen the rich Turkey carpet and damask cushions, the pride even of the tented Turk. Behind these portions of the train I must place, with more finish, the family—the foreground of my picture.

An old man, and generally his wife, head the clan, which consists of several generations; many of them must have seen near five score summers on the mountains: the old man, grasping a long stick, leads his children with a firm step. His son, the master of the flocks, follows with his wife; she is often seated on a horse, with a child in her arms, and other horses are led, all clothed with the gay trappings of a Turkish steed. Asses are allotted to the younger children, who are placed amidst the domestic stores, and never with-

out a pet cat in their arms: long tresses of hair hang down their necks, and are kept closely to the head by a circlet of coins. By their side walks the eldest son, with all the air and alacrity of a young sportsman; over his shoulder hangs a long-barrelled gun, in his hand is the cage of a decoy partridge, and a classic-looking hound follows at his heels: a number of shepherd boys mingle with the flocks and bring up the rear. The gay costume, the varied noises of the cattle, and the high glee attending the party on this annual expedition, must be supplied by the imagination.

I should think that twenty families passed in succession during our halt, few of them having less than one hundred head of stock, and many had more. In some families, attendants, servants or farming-labourers, were among the cattle, generally with their aprons tied around them, in which they carried two or three young kids; they had often over their shoulders a small calf, with all its legs held together on the breast, exactly as seen in the offerings on the bas-reliefs at Xanthus and elsewhere.

The longevity of the people in this pastoral country is very remarkable. I am sure that we have seen at least twenty peasants within the last two days above a hundred years of age, and apparently still enjoying health and activity of body; in some instances the mind appeared wandering. An old-looking hag, screaming violently, seized my servant Mania, and asked if he was come to take away her other child for a soldier, for if

he were gone she should have none left to take care of her. The temperate habits of the Turks, as well as some of their customs, may in part account for the prolongation of life in this country. One custom I may mention as tending to diminish the cares of age, and to show the excellence of these simple people. When sons grow up and marry, the father gives over to them his flocks and property, and trusts to the known and natural affection of his children to take care of him in his declining years: to a son his parents are always his first charge.

Descending the mountain, we traversed the ridge of one of those long promontories which cut the valley of the Xanthus into bays, and leave scarcely a bed for the winding river. Our descent brought us immediately upon the bridge which we had crossed on our way to visit Tlos. Baiting our horses for two hours at noon, we continued a westerly direction for three hours over the undulating and wooded hills leading to the head of the valley of the Glaucus. On these hills a small stream takes its rise, and runs toward the centre of the plain, but is so nearly lost in the swampy lands that it can scarcely be recognized as a river—the ancient Glaucus. It took us nearly three hours to traverse the plain on our return to Macry, where my first inquiry was respecting the arrival of the Beacon ship, which, in accordance with instructions sent from the Admiralty, I had arranged to meet here on this day, the 12th of May, to endeavour to transport the

marbles from Xanthus to England, for the British Museum. I was disappointed; the vessel had not been heard of on the coast, and I therefore at once took a boat for Rhodes, to gain what information I could upon the subject from our Vice-consul stationed there.

CHAPTER XI.

Rhodes—City of Rhodes—Sailors—Lavisse—Carmylessus—Return to the Yeeilassies—Review of Lycia.

May 13th.—THIRTY hours' endurance of the sea, mostly in a scorching sun, brought us at two o'clock in the morning to the quay within the stately harbour of Rhodes. The beautiful tower, which is the striking feature of the city, commands the entrance. The password being called, we landed, and by the light of a full moon spread our carpet upon the quay, and enjoyed an English breakfast of tea and toast, long before the inhabitants of the town opened their gates.

I was surprised to find that the city retains so much of the buildings and fortifications of the Knights of Rhodes. Probably the only change in the view of the town from the harbour, during the last eight centuries, is the elegant minarets of the Turkish mosques here and there peering above the walls. Armorial bearings and architectural ornaments, of what we call the Tudor age, are seen on the fronts of almost every house; and to those who take an interest in the hi-

story of the middle ages, the castle where the last resistance and surrender was made, and the tower under which sixteen thousand Turks fell before it yielded to their sway, illustrate perfectly the scenes and events recorded. Many dates are on the walls, blended with gothic ornaments generally of about the tenth century. The rocks alone point out the site of the famed Colossus at the entrance of the smaller harbour. I found one or two pedestals worked up in modern buildings, which show marks of Greek art in their heads and festoons, and in the well-cut inscriptions, but no other trace of the ancient Greeks was discoverable.

ΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΥΛΥΣΑΝΔΡΟΥ
ΧΑΛΚΗΤΑΚΑΙΤΑΣΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣ
ΚΛΕΑΙΝΙΔΟΣΚΑΔΔΙΚΙΑΤΙΔΔ
ΚΡΥΑΣΣΙΔΟΣ *

ΓΥΡΓΟΣ
ΔΩΡΚΩΝΟΣ †

The present town within the walls is thickly inhabited, but the mass of the Frank population reside in its

* *Translation.*—"[The tomb?] of Lysander, the son of Lysander, a citizen of Chalce, and of his wife Cleænis, the daughter of Calliers-sides, a citizen of Cryassa."

Published by Boeckh (No. 2553), who remarks, that both the little island of Chalce, or Chalcia, and the town Cryassa in Caria, were under the dominion of the Rhodians.

† *Translation.*—"The tower [tomb?] of Dorco."

environs, each having his house within a high-walled garden. The Greek inhabitants far outnumber all the rest. There are also many Jews, who are each night locked within their own quarters of the town. Considerable excitement prevails at present against this people, owing to a story of a Greek boy having been killed as a sacrifice to satisfy some of their superstitions. The case is now pending, but no Jew passes without the hoot or howl of the Greeks: the justice of the Porte was shown on the first hearing of this affair, by its ordering three of each party, Jew and Greek, to repair to Constantinople and give all the information they could, promising at the same time that the most impartial and strict inquiry should be made into the case.

The Turks have a strong garrison here, and perhaps it may be more required than in other parts I have visited. Rhodes has seen many changes, and the great bulk of its inhabitants being aliens, it may not improbably experience many more. The island has forty villages, and produces much fruit of all kinds; the peasantry are Greek, and if allowed the privileges proffered by the new Firman, they may cultivate the soil most profitably: the produce has hitherto been seized so capriciously, that the ground was only tilled for a sufficiency to supply the inhabitants. A steampacket now touches at this island more than once in the month, on its way from Smyrna to Beyrout. Our hospitable but unpaid Vice-consul, Mr. Wilkinson, rendered me every information in his power, but could give no tidings of

the Beacon ship. At noon, on the day of our arrival (the 13th of May), we were again in our boat to return, and in four hours were nearly within the bay of Macry. The breeze, which drove us on so quickly, was too fresh, and with a crash the foremast snapped off just above the deck. With one sail only we made but little way, and the land-breeze sprung up before we could reach our point. For nearly twenty hours we made scarcely any way, suffering much from the broiling sun, and paddling along with the feeble oars of the idle Greek sailors. At two o'clock, on the 14th of May, we were again on *terra firma*, and experiencing the insufferably oppressive and stagnant air of the bay of Macry.

A striking contrast in character between the Greek and Turk is seen in the sailors. The Greek will put out to sea even in a brisk breeze, and work his boat with activity; but should the gale increase to a storm, he will quit the helm and leave the vessel adrift, to repeat his prayers and cries of despair. The Turk, on the contrary, shows his fear in the first instance: he will never put to sea unless under the most favourable circumstances; but should an unforseeen storm arise, he is as unmoved as in the calm, apparently ready to meet his fate at his post, displaying a moral courage unknown to the Greek.

May 15th.—We have today ridden for two hours southward, to the village called by the Greeks Lavisse, and by the Turks Tuslee, a name which signifies 'stone

village.' The first hour's ride was along a zigzag path up the steep mountain side at the back of Telmessus, and then down a considerable descent into a highly-cultivated plain: the latter is divided into gardens, most of which have summerhouses or shelter from the sun, and each with walled fences. The town of Lavisse consists of about three or four hundred houses, well built, and entirely occupied by Greeks: from its commanding situation and the remains of a few tombs, I judge that it may probably be the site of a small ancient town, perhaps Cissidæ. Rising from this plain in all directions, on the bare rocks, are seen scattered huts, mostly belonging to the Turks; one of these groups is formed by the establishment of the Aga and a small mosque. Macry is the port or scala of this place, and it is here that the post is conducted, and all official business. Skirting the plain we passed through Lavisse, and over a hill to the sea-coast, in order to examine the ruins of an ancient city, supposed to be Carmylessus, situated principally upon an island and partly along the coast. After an hour's walk however, in the burning sun, we were disappointed at finding that the only boat which the coast supplies had just put to sea for Kastelorizo. Delighted with the wild grandeur of the rugged scenery, we walked back to Lavisse, and for two hours sat under the welcome shade of its luxuriant trees, surrounded by a number of Greeks, all apparently wealthy, and with talent to increase their riches. I purchased several coins of the country, and

have no doubt that these people possess many which would be valued for their rarity in Europe. The intrinsic value of the metal seemed the price expected for the silver coins. I hope that some which I have collected in Lycia may prove useful in illustrating the lost history of the country.

May 16th.—We have once more escaped from the suffocating air of Macry, and are now at the bridge of the Xanthus. The season is getting too hot to travel for pleasure; we are therefore, like the inhabitants of the deserted village of Satalacooe on the opposite side of the river, upon our way to the Yeeilassy. Our route is the same as that by which we descended a few days ago, and we intend afterwards to proceed as far as we can toward Smyrna by the high lands, passing over the country between Lycia and Mount Cadmus; at all events it will be cool travelling, and the route is novel to Europeans. Enjoying the independence of a tent and horses, our wants are limited to firewood, water and grass for the horses; the latter, I fear, will be the most difficult to procure in the yet wintry region of the high lands. I have long wished for this excursion, but could gain no information as to its practicability: having, however, when on the Yeeilassies, noticed the direction of the several ranges of mountains, I resolved to explore the country further, and expect to be able to lay down a map for future travellers.

May 18th.—We travelled yesterday nearly thirty miles, for most of the way ascending from the valley

of the Xanthus; today we have proceeded thirty-four miles toward the N.N.E., over a district elevated more than four thousand feet above the sea, and containing a large population, industriously employed in cultivating an excellent corn country: immense plains of young wheat look most promising. There are very few villages, the peasants living during their short season here in tents. This district loses much of the beauty we have so long seen, from having but few trees, and from the want of variety in the kinds. The *arbor vitæ*, or spreading cyprus, alone grows on the hills; and here and there on the plain a wild pear-tree, at this season scarcely showing its leaf, only reminds us of the absence of more beautiful trees.

Our tent is pitched on the north of the range of high mountains which separates Lycia from Caria and Phrygia, and is described by Pliny as a part of the Taurus, ending in the west at Dædala. Last night we pitched our tent on the north side of the plain of Satala-yeeilassy, the village lying to the eastward. In crossing the plain, and on the banks of the great tributary stream to the Xanthus which I mentioned before, we observed several columns and ornamented stones, of the Corinthian order, and evidently on their original site. These have probably belonged to a temple, but not of a very early Greek date. A little further on was another pile of squared stones—some carved into cornices and dentiled; and in the Turkish burial-grounds, which were scattered over the valley, many remains of sculptured

white marble showed that the ruins of some ancient city were not far distant. An imperfect inscription, ill-cut upon a column, indicated by the form of the characters a late date, probably Christian.

ΑΡΕΛΙΓΟΝΕΔΑΠΤΤΙΝΟΡΓΕΤ
ΓΒΥΕΓΟΩΤΑΝΕΣΙΜΟ ΕΤ
ΔΔΔΣΟΔΔ
ΔΔΕΠΟΛΔ
ΔΔΟΕΔΔ

ΛΟΡΕΛΚΓΑΔΤΙΠΟΛΛΔΔ
ΙΚΛΕΙΕΤΡΟ⌣ΦΓΣΙΛΕ
ΛΙΛΧΙ

Several pedestals, with figures in bas-relief, also showed a state of art more of the Byzantine than of an early Greek age—how different to the simplicity and beauty of the works we have generally found in Lycia!

I am inclined to draw a line of separation between the ancient Lycians and the Greeks who succeeded them, by the peculiarity shown in their architecture, sculpture and language: these indications of the Lycians we have entirely lost. The nature of the country also marks a strong line of demarcation. I have found no trace of the Lycians on the high plains, and none more northerly than Arycanda on the eastern side of the promontory formed by Lycia; nor have I discovered any on the east of the valley of the Xanthus, or to the north of Mount Massicytus, the whole country

containing traces of them being confined to the south-west of the range of Massicytus, and to the south of the northern chain from Dædala. I find no rock-tombs or gothic-formed sarcophagi, no Cyclopean walls or Lycian characters, in the cities on the eastern coast, or east of Limyra and Arycanda; an ill-designed tablet which I observed upon a rock on leaving Almalee was unworthy of the Lycians, and, from its inscription, may be attributed to the Mylians, whose country extended over that region. I also passed, between these plains and the district in which we are now travelling, a natural barrier of mountains, from which we had an extensive view over the whole of the west of Lycia; this probably divided the country of the Mylians from that of the Cibyrates, who were to the north of Mount Massicytus—a conjecture which is in part borne out by Strabo, who says that Tlos was situated on the passage toward the country of the Cibyrates.

On leaving Lycia, I must note down a few reflections which arise from considering the many remains we have found in this highly interesting province. History assists us little in our investigation of the remains of the middle ages, in connection with the inhabitants of Lycia. Of its earliest people we have more correct information from the poems of Homer and the works of Herodotus; each author almost claims this district as his native country, and both seem to have been well acquainted with the poetic legends of its first inhabitants. They tell of Europa's visit, and of her

sons possessing the country; and some of the most beautiful parts of the Iliad recount the history of the Lycian heroes, Sarpedon and Glaucus. The exploits of Bellerophon, and the tale of the children of king Pandarus, are related at length; whilst the Chimæra, the natural peculiarities and beauty and fertility of the country are frequently extolled.

I am inclined to consider almost all the works I have termed Lycian as belonging to this age and that immediately subsequent; many of the peculiar sarcophagi and obelisk-monuments, and much of the rock-architecture, the sculptures, and the language, as also the coins, of which I give a Plate among my inscriptions, belong to this period. None of these represent any subject which can be called Byzantine, Roman, or even connected with the known history of Greece; the subjects are mythological, historical, or domestic scenes; the history representing the earliest legends and the renowned feats of the time of the Trojan war. The nearest parallel to the domestic scenes appears to be in the Etruscan paintings. The coins to which I refer have upon them Bellerophon, Pegasus, the Sphinx, Pan, and the wild beasts of the country; and on their reverse a triquetra, an unexplained but very ancient symbol, intermixed with the early language of the country.

Herodotus mentions the destruction of the Lycians about the year 550 B.C.*. Probably about that period,

* Cræsus, whose reign commenced 562 B.C., succeeded in conquering the whole of the province of Asia Minor, excepting Lycia and

and afterwards, the Græco-Lycian coins appeared, with the head and emblems of Apollo, names of the country, and the initials of the several cities to which they belonged, in Greek characters; these are known for almost all the cities from Massicytus to Olympus. Patara, the seat of the oracle of Apollo, Sidyma, and many other cities, appear to have arisen at this period, and I should attribute also to this age many of the fragments of sculpture found at Xanthus. History tells us that the Lycians were a brave and warlike people, famed for the use of the javelin and their skill in archery: Xenophon says that they were sought to join the army of Cyrus in his march to the East; and they afforded great assistance in the expedition of Xerxes.

After this period the country became a colony of

Cilicia, which never became subject to him. In the reign of his successor, Cyrus, we find the following account of their extinction as a nation: "When Harpagus led his army toward Xanthus, the Lycians boldly advanced to meet him, and, though inferior in number, behaved with the greatest bravery. Being defeated, and pursued into their city, they collected their wives, children, and valuable effects into the citadel, and then consumed the whole in one immense fire. They afterwards, uniting themselves under the most solemn curses, made a private sally upon the enemy, and were every man put to death. Of those who now inhabit Lycia, calling themselves Xanthians, the whole are foreigners, eighty families excepted; these survived the calamity of their country, being at that time absent on some foreign expedition. Thus Xanthus fell into the hands of Harpagus; as also did Caunus, whose people imitated, almost in every respect, the example of the Lycians."—*Herodotus, Book* I. *c.* 176.

Greece, and was soon subjected to Rome; its history is thenceforth blended with that of the rest of Asia Minor, which was more or less over-run by a Byzantine and Christian people. The very little that has hitherto been known, or rather surmised, of the Lycian language, appears to bear out this idea of the early history of the inhabitants of Lycia. The characters are not of Greek, but probably of Phœnician origin, and the root of the language, judging from many of the names of the cities, may have been derived also from the same nation, or from the Hebrew, which appears a natural geographical progression. In this point of view, Lycia is to me of the highest interest, more particularly from the extremely early works of a people whom, for the sake of distinction, I should call the ancient Lycians, preceding a people who appeared to embrace the language and the mythology of the Greeks, and became Græco-Lycians.

In Plate XXXVII. I have added to the coins which I brought from the valley of the Xanthus, all bearing the Lycian characters that are known; these latter have hitherto been left in the uncertain lists of coins, and attributed to Cilicia. This I have done, in order to make my collections of Lycian inscriptions more perfect, and the present volume, with my Journal of 1838, will, I believe, now include all that have been brought to Europe. These coins, which are probably of the cities in the valley of the Xanthus, but certainly Lycian, bear marks of high antiquity, both in their manufac-

ture and devices. Of the twenty-two reverses, I observe that one represents Pan, one of the oldest of the gods, and supposed to be first introduced from Egypt: one has upon it a sphinx; six have figures of lions and bulls, which may refer to Europa; four represent Pegasus; one, a horse (which may relate to the exploits of Bellerophon), and one a naked man: the remaining eight have each the skin of a lion's head. Other coins which I have found in the country, representing wild boars (Plate XXXIV. Nos. 3 and 4), may probably be also of this date. In these coins we find no trace of Apollo, Diana, Jupiter, Hercules, or Ceres, so universally honoured in this country at a later period, about the fifth century B.C., nor any trace of a head indicating the coins of the Roman ages. This I think is strong evidence of the antiquity of the early inhabitants, derived from their coins; the bas-reliefs afford a similar evidence.

CHAPTER XII.

Gule-Hissá Ovassy—A large Lake—Ancient River Calbis—Extensive Plains—Curreeuke—Its Bazaar—Price of Cattle—Customs of the People—Denizlee—Its Inhabitants—Change of Law—Laodiccia—Hierapolis—Return to Smyrna.

May 19th.—After winding through a series of mountain-tops, slightly raised above the plain we had traversed, we suddenly arrived at an extensive and cultivated country, bounded by Mount Cadmus or Babadah on the north. This large and highly productive district is called Gule-hissá Ovassy, or 'Rose-castle Valley,' which is left entirely blank on all our maps. I already observe much cultivation, several rivers, and many villages dotted over the wide extent of country before us.

Hoomarhoosharry.—We have moved twenty-five miles northward, and have made but little apparent progress over this extensive valley, which all bears the same name. Immediately over the brow of a little hill, on leaving our tent, we were surprised at finding a village, and before it a highly picturesque and extensive

lake, into which ran out a promontory, terminated by a craggy rock, upon which appeared to be some ruins of a castle; this may have given the name to the whole district; the lake is called Gule-hissá Gouluh. A few huts at the foot of the castle-rock are called Oloo-boonar-cooe, meaning 'Dead-water Village.' Skirting the lake, close under the cliff of the mountains, we found large covered sheds, in which is held the great market or bazaar; this spot was called Bazaar-cooe. In the burial-grounds around were many remains of columns, pedestals, and sculptured white marble, but all in a late and not pure style.

I copied the following inscription from a pedestal:

ΛΥΚΙΑCΩΚΡΑΤΟΥ
ΔΡΠCΙΩΤΗΙΔΙΑ
ΠΑΙΔΙCΚΗΜΝΗ
ΜΗCΕΝΕΚΕΝ *

* *Translation.*—"Lycia, [the daughter?] of Socrates, to . . . . . her own dear child, for the sake of remembrance."

In about an hour we crossed a considerable river, running toward the north from the range of mountains to the south-east, and continued our way over a plain of rich soil, entirely cultivated with corn, which was just springing out of the ground. About fifteen miles on our way the soil became lighter, and was filled with stones of igneous rocks. For the next ten miles we entered quite a different region; barren hills, which we crossed, protruded into this part of the valley, while the river wound around their bases. The whole of these were quite distinct from the high mountains of limestone rising above them, and had all been deposited at their feet amidst running waters; the same power is now again washing them away, although they consist of rolled fragments of volcanic stones, cemented strongly together with a deposit of lime. This pudding-stone rock stands out in most grotesque forms, and often in thin shelves from the face of the rocks, upon which our road ran. Beyond these rocks were a series of barren hills, the arid soil not even producing a tree. A few bushes of the little oak-shrub are all that find root on this sandy district, but on our left beyond the river, whose course we still followed toward the north, the soil was apparently good, and green with corn-fields.

A considerable and permanent stream crossed our road on its way to the river in the plain. This great river, which rises in the south-east, is, I find, the ancient Calbis, the modern Dollomon-chi, which we had crossed

with such difficulty above a hundred miles below, and within ten miles of its mouth.

This village of Hoomarhoosharry stands upon the plain, or rather on a bay out of the great plain, and has the peculiarities of such agricultural places. The mountainous character of the houses has changed, and mud walls and ditches have supplanted the fences of trees and thorns. Flat-topped mud houses, and a number of poles for drawing water from the deep wells, were the features of this little village, in which all our wants were soon supplied with fowls, eggs, and milk. I was amused at seeing here, as I had formerly done in the northern parts of Anatolia, agricultural implements of the most ancient forms retained in use—"the threshing instrument having teeth," mentioned by Isaiah *, and the plough and carts described by the earliest classic writers. Rising from the plain, at the foot of the surrounding hills, was the village of Tourtakar, and about half way up the craggy mountain were some ruins of an ancient city. We were told that several marble sarcophagi and columns, used now at the mouth of the wells, had been brought from the "old castles," but that all the buildings had fallen down. We could see the ruins of a city, with extensive walls, high up in the mountain, but the intense heat of the weather and the fatigue of travelling made us satisfied with this information, and we arranged to proceed on our route at two o'clock in the morning.

* See Appendix to my Journal of 1838.

May 20th.—Although we have travelled all day, we have only reached this place, a distance of thirty-five miles, and have just light left to enable us to review the whole line of our route. The tent is pitched at the northern end of this wonderful valley, or rather elevated plain; for I find we are still higher than the Yeeilassy of Satala-cooe: the thermometer indicates an altitude of above five thousand feet. Looking toward the south, the plain is bounded by the range of snow mountains which forms the barrier of Lycia, running from Dædala to the Taurus range in Pamphylia. On the right is another fine snow-capped range, from Cadmus at our back, and extending as far as Moolah in the south-west*. On the left are the high craggy cliffs among which the Calbis takes its rise, and behind which lies Pamphylia. The high lands within these mountain-chains form a part of Phrygia.

Soon after leaving Hoomarhoosharry, which we did by moonlight this morning, we passed the village of Yoomahoodas, situated at the foot of some stupendous cliffs, under which our road lay for two or three hours. The eagles were soaring around their nests, and the singular

* In my map, the coast of which is made from the chart just received by the Admiralty, a great change will be observed near the ancient Cnidus. By the ancient survey the gulf is found to extend above twenty miles further eastward than hitherto known, and the isthmus was equally erroneous in its form. In consequence of this discovery, Moolah is found to be near to the sea, and I should suggest that it is the site of the ancient Pedasis.

cackling of the red-ducks, which also build in the loftiest peaks of the rocks, often attracted our attention to these giddy heights; the call of the partridge was frequent in the little tufts around us. Long before daylight the plain on our left was alive with the yokes of oxen dragging the plough, and a kind of rake, which seems to be used here instead of the bunch of thorns more general in the country; this probably arises from the scarcity of trees, for the whole plain produces nothing but the wild pear, which is dotted over the land, affording little shade, but forming a good post for the cattle.

In every direction along this extensive flat, we saw lines of people travelling in the cool of the morning, mostly upon asses, toward one point, which was also our destination,—the village of Carreeuke. At this place is held a great bazaar: thousands of gaily dressed people were assembled under and around two immense covered sheds; all seemed busied with their sales and purchases. The gay-coloured shoe-mart and the beautiful carpets and rugs were the most striking features. The women in this valley, although Turks, do not veil themselves; a number were assembled under some trees, away from the bustle of the fair, and in the only shade that we saw; under this we proposed to bait and have our breakfast. I feared that a command from our Cavass was the cause of the women quitting the shade, for our convenience, but on inquiry I found that a woman who lived in an adjoining hut or shed claimed this shade for her customers, for whom she made coffee,

and took charge of their horses. We therefore purchased from her some firewood and eggs, and with a present amply repaid her for the use of the scanty shade of a few wild pear-trees.

The authority of the Cavass kept the wondering people at a distance, otherwise we should have been surrounded by the hundreds who passed us on their way from the market. We spoke with some few of these, asking ordinary questions connected with their vocations, and I was surprised to find that the beautiful little cattle used for ploughing were sold at so low a price; four-year-old oxen, fat enough to kill, were purchased for eighty, ninety, or a hundred piastres; the latter price being less than a pound of our money. A cow and calf were sold for one hundred and fifty piastres, and excellent horses for two hundred and fifty. The Turks often dispose of their things by auction, and this sale has a peculiarity unknown to us: the lot is put up, and competition ensues, the last bidder being the purchaser: but he gives only the price offered by the preceding bidder, his further advance merely indicating his anxiety to possess the lot. The tenure on which the land is held by the cultivator is by no means oppressive; one-seventh of the produce is claimed by the governor of the district, as satisfaction for the rent, tax, and all charges whatsoever.

Our European costume was not here the novelty I expected; in the fair were two or three Greeks similarly attired; they were dealers in leeches, and the singular-

ity of their trade deserves notice. The introduction of strangers, and especially of intelligent Greeks, may hereafter add to our knowledge of these hitherto unvisited parts. Three or four years ago the trade in leeches was scarcely known, except for the use of the village; this inhabitant of the swamp has now become an important contributor to the revenue of the Sultan. Two years ago I met an Italian collecting and shipping them from Adalia, undisturbed by any law: from that time the privilege of buying them from the peasants has been farmed out by the Sultan, and several companies of merchants in Constantinople purchase certain districts for the year, and send agents round to buy up the collections at such prices as he may agree upon with the people. The agent here said that his employers had given a sum equal to fifteen thousand pounds for this district, which I found extended over almost the whole track we had traversed. How strange that two such important trades as that in leeches and gall-nuts should have their origin in such minute productions of the animal world! Many vessels are freighted to America and all parts of Europe with leeches only, and in almost every steamboat I have observed that a great part of its cargo consisted of these animals, which are the constant care of the merchants accompanying them, as they frequently require ventilation in the hold of the vessel. The trade is a great speculation, and the calculation is made upon the loss of an immense proportion of the stock. The capture, transport, and cal-

culated mortality bring to my mind the treatment of the Negroes.

In my former Journal I attempted to describe the peculiarities of a Turkish market; the animation and gaiety of the scene can scarcely be over-drawn. The present one had the additional effect of animals grazing for a mile around in every direction—camels, horses, and asses. I should estimate the number of the latter useful animals (for almost every man had his ass) at not less than two thousand; the camels generally bore merchandize for sale. At noon a crier proclaimed the market to be ended, and all the people gradually departed; some to very distant places, but most to the various villages skirting this extensive plain.

For some distance round the village of Carreeuke, as well as built into the walls of its mosques, were many sculptured remains and fragments of inscriptions, but all appeared to be of a late Greek date; some had patterns showing a fanciful taste, but not of a simple or pure age. I copied the two following from the wall of the mosque:

ΜΟΥΛΠΙΟΝΖ
ΝΩΝΟCΥΙΟΝΚΥΡΕΙΝΑ
ΤΡΥΦΩΝΑΜΕΓΑΝΑΝΤΩ
ΝΙΑΝΟΝΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΑΤΗCΑ
ΟΙΑΕΧΕΙΛΙΑΡΧΗCΑΝΤΑ
ΚΑΙΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝΕΠΑ
ΧΟΝCΠΕΙΡΗCΠΡΩΤΗC
ΟΥΛΠΙΑCΓΑΛΑΤΩΝΕΝ
ΠΑCΙΝΠΡΩΤΟΝΤΗCΠΟ

ΛΕΩCΤΕΚΑΙΤΗCΕΠΑΡΧΕ
ΑCΤΟΝΕΥΕΡΓΕΤΗΝΤΗC
ΠΑΤΡΙΔΟCΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟ
ΔΗΜΟC/Τ/ΗΝ/ΑΝΑCΤΑ
CΙΝΠΟΙΗCΑ/ΜΕΝΗC
ΑΝΤΩΝΙΑCΑΡΙCΤΗCΑΛ
ΔΙΛΛΗCΤΗCΕΓΓΟΝΗCΑΥΤΟΥ
ΕΚΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝ *

ΜΟΥΝΑΝΙCΑΠΟΛ
ΔΟCΠΛΕΥΙΟΥ
ΝΗΔΠΑΙΧΟΙΔΑΔΗ
/ΣΕΑΦΟΙΕΚΑΙ
/ΟCΤΕΚΝΩΑΠΟΛ
/ΚΑΙΠΡΩΤΙΩΝΙ
/ΤΡΟΛΕΓΑΡΕΙΑ
/ΖΩCΑΜΝΕΥ †

The soil of the plain as we approached Carreeuke became very light and arid, and the crops consequently less promising; not a stone was to be seen, the wide dusty track of the road showed a white sandy soil, and the earth sounded hollow beneath the horses' feet: no rivers or streams are seen near this end of the valley. The whole was explained by a deep ditch cut across our

* *Translation.*—"M. Ulpius Trypho, the son of Zeno, of the tribus Quirina, the great Antoninian [?], high-priest of Asia [?], who had been a military tribune and commander of the first cohort of Galatians, the Ulpian, who is the first of all men in the town and the province, and a benefactor of his native country; [him] the Council and the People [have honoured]. Antonia Ariste Ladilla [?], his granddaughter, having erected [the statue] at her own expense."

† This appears to be a fragment of a funeral inscription.

path: the soil was precisely similar to that of the greater part of the plains on the table-lands of Phrygia forming the centre of Asia Minor—fragments of pumice and other volcanic dust, united by the deposits of lime, making a spongy porous earth totally unfit for vegetation: time and exposure to the air had coated the surface with more mixed soil, and upon this a scanty crop is produced. On approaching the hills, the soil is far better, and during a short season in the year (for the snows have only disappeared within the last three weeks) this district must contribute an important part to the produce of the country.

Leaving Carreeuke, and proceeding toward the north, we passed on our right, successively, Yarseer, Gewmoos-cooe, Ghiassar, and Seechalik; and on our left, the large village of Koosil Hissar, nearly at the north end of the valley.

May 22nd, Denizlee.—We have proceeded about twenty-five miles north of our encampment last night, on leaving which spot we ascended a ridge of hills for half an hour. A perfectly new and splendid view then burst upon us, and showed me at once that I had completed a circuit in my travels, as I now recognized before me the peculiar features of the hills of Hierapolis and the valleys of the Lycus and Mæander. On the left, and close to us, rose Mount Cadmus, with its snows; on the right, a mountain almost as high, and of the same range, called by the Turks Honas-dah; before us was a rich-looking valley, rapidly descending to the

extended plain of the bed of the Lycus; beyond this rose the dark mountains of the Catacecaumene, from which the Mæander flows to the valley of the Lycus.

Viewed even at a distance, the peculiar geological features of this district are apparent: afar off we distinctly saw the white patches deposited by the waters of Hierapolis, and giving origin to the Turkish names Pambook or Tambook Kallasy—signifying Cotton or Pall Castle; and beneath us extended the bare range of sand-hills flanking the mountain on the southern side of the valley, and in which Laodicea is situated. The wasting hills down which our course lay were very similar to those in the parallel but wider valley of the Mosynus, the mass being generally composed of fragments, principally volcanic, united by aqueous deposits. Some of these deposits give a singular and beautiful appearance to the soil, changing as abruptly as the strata at Alum Bay in the Isle of Wight, and varying in colour sometimes from the deepest crimson to a delicate pink, at others deepening from the pale yellow of sulphur to the rich brown of umber. Small streams cut deep into these sandy soils; and we often saw by our path rippling waters in a bed scarcely ten feet wide, and at a depth of fifty or sixty feet. These streams all flow to the richly-wooded plain in which stands the large town of Denizlee.

The inhabitants of this place, which ranks among the largest towns in Turkey, we saw under peculiar circumstances; the usually peaceable and industrious

people had almost all deserted the town, and the few who were left had shut themselves within their walls, and with closed gates were waiting the attack of an enemy. In the town there appeared but little power of resistance; but all the bazaars were shut, and the people seemed watchful and uneasy.

We soon learned that the governor, who was of the old school, did not approve the new system of government, and had levied taxes upon the district contrary to the powers of his Firman, which law is always accessible to the eye of the people, and is periodically read to them in public. The sum demanded of the people by the governor was double the amount assigned by the Sultan: they had remonstrated in vain, and at last sent a statement of their grievances to Constantinople, declaring their willingness to pay any sum the Sultan required. The deputation was, however, waylaid by the servants of the governor, and the petition torn to pieces before their faces. This illegal conduct made the Turks more determined to be heard: the petition was again written, and sent guarded by a thousand of the inhabitants. The governor, anticipating his certain fate, had fled, saying that he was going to the Pasha for soldiers, and would return and punish them. The people, from the justice which is shown to all appeals to the Sultan, appeared to me to have less cause to fear the threats of their oppressor, than he had to dread the consequences of his venturing to return. While here, we have heard of a striking instance of the

promptness and severity of the punishment inflicted upon men in authority for acts of oppression. Tahir Pasha, the generalissimo of all the Pashas of Anatolia, and the active-minded king of Idin, whom we saw but two months ago in all his power, has oppressed the people of some villages in his district, probably, among others, the village of Chi-cooc, which we had visited; he is in consequence removed, and deprived of all power and honour, thankful to have his life and liberty spared and live as a private man. I have no doubt this is good policy; by a bold stroke the Sultan has removed a too-powerful subject, and given confidence to the people of his sincerity in carrying out his new system, a principal feature in which is that the government emanates solely from himself.

Denizlee has few early ruins, although many walls built of a rough conglomerate of stones and vegetable matter, massed together by lime, are scattered about the neighbourhood; portions of the walls of the town are also of an early date, but these are all much later than the numerous blocks, columns, and fragments of white marble seen in the burial-grounds and in every street, which, I find, are all brought from Laodicea, scarcely an hour's distance to the north: we propose to proceed thither tomorrow.

May 23rd.—We have here parted with our Cavass, as he is near his home, and his horses are too much jaded, by the heat of the weather and long travel, to proceed further. We have agreed with two Turks and

a Greek to accompany us hence to Smyrna in five days: the price we pay is a fixed sum, and I observe in our suite an extra mule loaded with packsaddles, that the whole stud may return with merchandize from Smyrna.

I have spoken of the ruins of Laodicea in my former Journal. Two years ago, as I approached this spot, nothing was seen but vultures and the wild and solitary bustard; the only trace of man was a few chips of marble broken from the ancient columns to form the gravestone of a Turk. How changed is the scene now! Hundreds of peasants, and thousands of cattle, sheep, goats, oxen and camels, cover the ancient city, and continue to arrive in long trains: the people are actively employed in pitching their tents, while the cattle are grazing over their new pastures. These pastoral people migrate from the valley; when the herbage becomes scanty there, the whole village moves into the hills, keeping together, the better to protect their flocks from the wolves and other animals.

Crossing the valley of the Lycus, I again visited Hierapolis, and rambled far among its varied and splendid tombs; the ruins are more extensive than I had fancied on my previous visit, but my opinion of them remains the same. I copied the two following inscriptions.

ΤΟΙΣΣΕΠΑΣΤΟΙΣ
ΤΩΔΗΜΩΙΧΙΟΕΛΛΙΕΥΠΟ
ΣΙΑΝΖΕΥΞΙΕΖΕΥΕΙ

ΑΟΣΤΟΥΜΕΝΕΣΤΡΑΤΟ
ΜΡΩΠΑΤΡΙΣΙΧΙΑΓΟΣΑΝΟ
ΜΑΤΑΣΕΚΠΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΙ
ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ *

ΤΟΥΤΟΤΟΗΡΩΟΝ
ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΙ
ΗΕΡΓΑΣΙΑΤΩΝΒΑΦΕΩΝ †

May 28th, Smyrna.—I have neglected my Journal during the last five days, for my route has been precisely that of my former journey, passing down the valley of the Cogamus to Philadelphia, Sardis, and on to Cassabar. The season, although somewhat later, afforded the same display of fruit and flowers; the corn was falling to the sickle, and the flowers fading to seed. The caravans were again travelling by night to avoid the heat of the day, a mode which we are in some degree compelled to adopt, by starting at two o'clock each morning. Passing over a country by night deprives the traveller of the pleasure of observation, and substitutes fatigue; on this account alone I was rejoiced at the termination of a journey so pleasurable in itself, and promising to afford me subjects of high interest for research and reflection to the end of my life.

* The inscription records a donation made to the Gods and the People by Zeuxis, son of Zeuxis.

† "The trade of the Dyers crowns this Heroum."

SUPPLEMENTARY CHAPTER.

Discoveries derived from the elucidation of the Lycian Inscriptions—Instructions for future Travellers—Lists and Examination of Coins—List of Plants collected during the Journey.

During the progress of the former part of this volume through the press, my friend Mr. Daniel Sharpe has furnished me with some interesting results arising from his examination of my Lycian inscriptions. The short time that has elapsed since these have been in his hands would not allow of a more perfect elucidation; but the discoveries are of so interesting a nature, as connected with the subject of this work, that I shall enumerate some of the leading features bearing upon history and geography, although I well know that still more will ere long be revealed. I must refer the reader to the interesting communication from Mr. Sharpe, forming Appendix B.

The Lycian characters appear at present to be pe-

culiar to the province *: they include nearly all those letters which are considered to have formed the original Greek alphabet; these may have been borrowed from the early Greeks, or both nations may have derived them from a common source. The later additions to the Greek alphabet are not found in the Lycian, but that alphabet has several peculiar characters, completing the series of long and short vowels which are found in most of the Eastern languages.

The language of the inscriptions resembles the Zend, or ancient Persian, more nearly than any other with which we have the means of comparing it; but it also contains words of Semitic origin; these have not affected the structure of the language, which is thoroughly Indo-Germanic: the vicinity of the country of Syria readily accounts for some mixture of the language of that people in the Lycian.

It may be remembered, that in my Journal I have frequently noticed peculiarities in the arts of the early inhabitants, and pointed out parallels in the Persepo-

* In the Supplement to Walpole's Travels, are published some inscriptions copied by Mr. Cockerell on the Coast of Lycia, in the characters of that country, and one said to have been copied by Captain Beaufort in Caria. This has been used by some continental philologists as an evidence of the language having extended over that district also. I have received a letter from Captain Beaufort since my return to England, in which he says, "I have at length discovered in my old journals the place of the inscription printed in Mr. Walpole's book, and I am happy to tell you that it was at Telmessus, and therefore really in Lycia."

litan sculptures: this connection is further borne out by history. Herodotus says, in speaking of the time of the Trojan war (book i. c. 4), "It is to be observed, that the Persians esteem Asia, with all its various and barbarous inhabitants, as their own peculiar possession, considering Europe and Greece as totally distinct and unconnected." Again, in book iv. c. 12, we find about the same period (during the reign of Ardyis), that "the Greeks had no settlement in Asia Minor."

The Greek writers called the country in question by the general name of Lycia, which, although found several times in the Greek part of the inscription on the obelisk at Xanthus, does not occur in the Lycian part of the same inscription, where the people are called Tramilæ; for this we might be in some degree prepared by Herodotus, who says that they were formerly called Termelæ. Stephanus Byzantinus calls them Termilæ and Tremilæ.

Being enabled to read the characters, we find that the country consisted of two states or people, the Tramelæ and the Trooes; and many coins bearing the name of the city of the latter people are given in the Plates to this work. I feel quite certain, from the geographical position and importance of the city called by the Greeks Tlos, that this was the ancient city of the Trooes: the frequent change of the P to a Λ is known to all conversant with the Greek language. We thus have the capital of the northern portion of Lycia named after the Trooes, while the city called by the Greeks

Xanthus was the metropolis of the Tramelæ in the south.

Reviewing the country with these new ideas, I might almost separate the cities of these former people from those built by the colonists from Greece at an after period, probably not earlier than a century before the time of Herodotus. To do this I should select only those places in which I have observed features in art peculiar to the earliest inhabitants, for in many the whole design of the city is purely Greek, although the surrounding rocks afforded natural facilities for excavations, of which the Lycians always availed themselves. I find either coins or mention in the inscriptions, of almost the whole of this diminished number of the ancient cities, as well as of several others, whose total destruction or great change of name by the after inhabitants, prevent their recognition. We find the names of Troouneme (Tlos), Pinara, Méré (Myra), Gaéaga (Gagæ), and Trabala: also the names of Ereclé, Pedassis, perhaps of Xenagora and Kopalle. To the latter city belong two-thirds of the coins collected, and many of them were obtained in the neighbourhood of the city called by the Greeks Xanthus. I should conjecture that Kopalle may have been the ancient name of this city, but I know no grounds for the supposition beyond this circumstantial evidence. Stephanus Byzantinus states in his Geography that the former name of Xanthus was Arna. I see also traces of these early people in the cities called by the Greeks Calynda, Tel-

messus, Massicytus, Antiphellus, and Limyra, and in the tombs near Cadyânda.

In the funereal inscriptions copied from the monuments in these cities, all the pedigrees of the deceased, with one exception, are derived from the mothers: the exception is on the tomb of the Greek copied at Limyra, and he was evidently a foreigner, from having his monument inscribed in both languages. This beautifully confirms the relation of the custom in the following passage by Herodotus (book i. ch. 73). "They have one distinction from which they never deviate, which is peculiar to themselves: they take their names from their mothers, and not from their fathers. If any one is asked concerning his family, he proceeds immediately to give an account of his descent, mentioning the female branches only."

From the inscription upon the obelisk-monument at Xanthus we obtain the date of a period at which the language was still used; it records a decree of the king of Persia, therein styled by his title the Great King of Kings; and it also alludes to Harpagus, the general of Cyrus the Great. It will be remembered, that Harpagus was a person entrusted with the confidence of Astyages, the grandfather of Cyrus, which is recorded in the interesting account of his being employed by Astyages to destroy the infant Cyrus, and the horrible cruelty of his being made to feast upon his own butchered son, ten years after the birth of Cyrus. Stifling his revenge for a long period, he at last betrayed Astyages

and his country into the hands of Cyrus, who was then king of Persia. We afterwards read in Herodotus (book i. ch. 177) that, "whilst Harpagus was engaged in the conquest of the Lower Asia, Cyrus himself conducted an army against the upper regions, of every part of which he became master." I have in a former part of this work quoted the account given by Herodotus of the conquest of Xanthus by Harpagus. At the time of writing his history (about 450 B.C.), he says, "of those who now inhabit Lycia, calling themselves Xanthians, the whole are foreigners, eighty families excepted." These foreigners I suppose to have been the Greeks, whose works show their occupation of the country for many centuries afterwards.

Amongst the most gratifying results arising from the examination of these inscriptions, is the assistance they give in rendering the poems of Homer more intelligible. In the Iliad we read of Pandarus being a chief coming from Lycia, and of his being "the best bow in Lycia," thus connecting him with that country. In the second book he is named among the allies of Troy, as leading Troes into the field from Zeleia, at the foot of Mount Ida. Hitherto this has appeared inconsistent, and Strabo tells us that before his time a certain Demetrius had written thirty books upon this supposed error in Homer, and Strabo concludes by allotting a part of the Troad near Mount Ida to the kingdom of Pandarus.

How clearly the whole of this is now explained, by continuing to style Pandarus a chief of Lycia, whose

country was Troas, while Sarpedon was also chief of Lycia, from Xanthus! Probably the evident difficulty, and consequent confusion, in the geography of Homer, arising from two people of the same name of Trooes, occasioned his calling the river in the plains of Troy the Xanthus, and explaining that the people called it Scamander, but the gods Xanthus. At present but one river flows through each of these districts. In Lycia the colour of the waters alone would testify to the correctness of the name *, but inscriptions found in the city, upon its banks, confirm it. The ancient name of this river was Sirbe, which is a Persian word meaning 'sand-colour,' or Xanthus †.

I shall conclude this volume, which I trust may be instrumental in inducing other travellers to pursue the researches into the history of this interesting portion of the world, with mentioning a few objects deserving their attention. I should point out the valley immediately beyond Hoozumlee as likely to contain monuments hitherto unvisited. I saw at a distance an obelisk, which may be inscribed; it probably stood

* My servant, who had not the most distant idea of the ancient name of the river, in speaking to one of his Greek companions while crossing the stream, used the word Xanthus. I asked of what he was speaking; he replied, that he was speaking of the colour of the water.

† Bochart's Geography, vol. i. chap. 6.

near the frontier of the country. The cities of Cragus and Corydalla may no doubt be discovered where I suggest them in the map; I have ascertained that they are not to be found in other districts where I sought them. The city supposed to be Trabala should by all means be examined, as it was one built by the earliest people. The north-east end of the valley of Cassabar may probably contain another city. The long inscription upon the obelisk at Xanthus should be recopied, paying particular attention to the portion written in the Greek language, for copying which a scaffold or ladder will be required; and, if power could be obtained, the fragment upon the ground should be turned over, as the commencement of the inscription is to be expected upon the side now facing the earth: this is of particular importance, as if it should prove to be identical with the decree which follows immediately in Greek, there would be materials for a good understanding of the Lycian language. The inscription in the Lycian language, which I have partly copied at Antiphellus, is well worth recopying, as the subject is not funereal but historical.

COINS

COLLECTED DURING THE JOURNEY.

In each place where I obtained coins during my travels, I wrapped them in separate packets. The examination of the contents of these may not only afford information as to the names of the ancient sites of cities, but may be of historical use in showing by the coinage the connection of various cities and nations at different ages by commerce or conquest.

IDIN. (TRALLES.)

By far the greatest number are of the Byzantine and Christian ages; many Roman, and Greek coins of the age of Alexander. I obtained one of Alexandria Troas, and a denarius of Julius Cæsar.

NASLEE.

Byzantine, Roman, and a few earlier Greek coins of Pergamus and Aphrodisias.

KARASOO.

FROM THE NEIGHBOURING RUINS OF APHRODISIAS.

The great bulk are of the Byzantine age; I have also the coins of Aphrodisias (Gallienus)—two of Plarasa—Attuda in Phrygia (Commodus)—Laodiceia—Pixodarus, king of Caria—and Syrian coins of Antiochus.

ARAB HISSÁ. (ALABANDA.)

Byzantine, and the coins of Philadelphia, Alabanda, and of Magnesia-ad-Mæandrum.

DEMMEERGE-DERASY. (ALINDA.)

Amongst many Byzantine coins are those of Maximinus—Tripolis in Caria—Antiocheia in Caria—two of Miletus—Antigonus Gonatas, king of Macedon—Alabanda (Caracalla)—and five of Alinda. (Plate XXXV. Nos. 8 and 9.)

MELLASSA. (MYLASA.)

Many Greek coins of Caria—some of Mylasa, in the time of Severus. (Plate XXXV. Nos. 4 and 5.)

ESKY HISSÁ. (STRATONICEIA.)

Greek coins of Rhodes, and two of Stratoniceia. (Plate XXXV. No. 11.)

MOOLAH.

Many Byzantine—some Roman—Hadrian, of Eumenia in Phrygia. (Plate XXXV. No. 12.) Otacilia Severa,

of Perge in Pamphylia—Antiochus of Syria—Cyzicus—Pergamus in Mysia—Cassander, king of Macedon—Rhodes—Halicarnassus—two of Stratoniceia—and numerous uncertain Lycian coins.

MACRY. (TELMESSUS.)

Many Rhodian coins, found along the south coast of Caria, the ancient Peræa, nine silver and four copper—Side in Pamphylia—several Ptolemies—two of Apamea in Phrygia—three of Massicytus—two of Cragus—Limyra—two uncertain (Plate XXXIV. Nos. 3 and 4)—Coressus in Ceos (Plate XXXIV. No. 1)—and many uncertain Lycian coins.

HOORAHN. (MASSICYTUS?)

Uncertain Lycian coins.

DOOVERE. (TLOS.)

Tlos (Plate XXXIV. No. 12) and Massicytus (Plate XXXIV. No. 17).

MINARA. (PINARA.)

Numerous Lycian coins—four of Pinara (Plate XXXIV. Nos. 13 and 14)—Cragus (Plate XXXIV. No. 10)—three of Rhodes—three of Antiochus—and two of Ptolemies.

DELTA OF XANTHUS.

Ancient coins with Lycian characters (Plate XXXIV. Nos. 5, 6, 7 and 8).

PATARA.

Coins very numerous; many Roman and uncertain Lycian, among them those of Tlos—Myra (Plate XXXIV. No. 9)—Trabala (No. 11)—Antoninus Pius, of Corinth—Augustus (Egypt)—Ptolemies—two of Antiochus (Syria)—and one of Cos.

ALMALEE.

Many coins of the time of the Roman emperors.

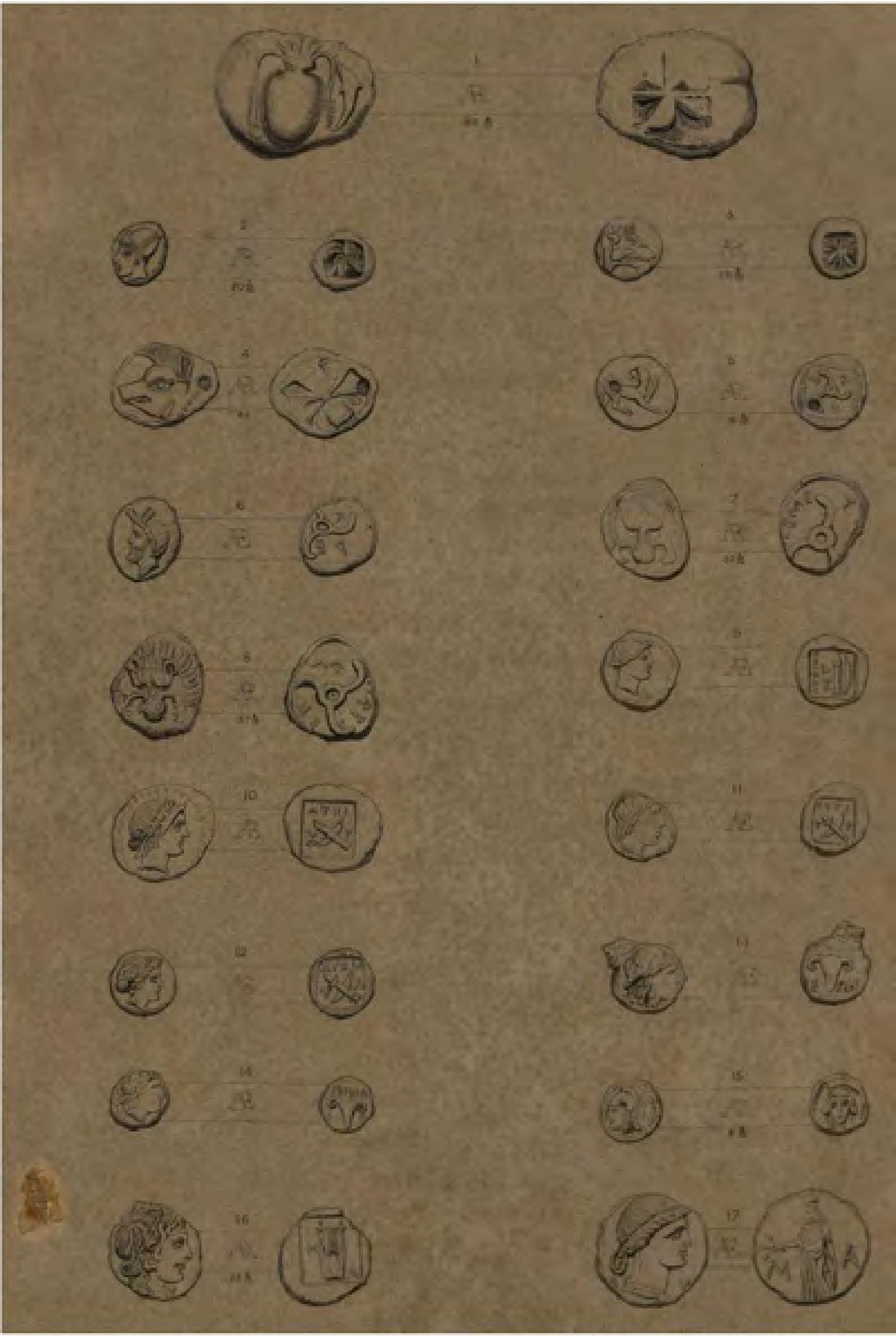
FROM THE HIGH LANDS SOUTH OF DENIZLEE.

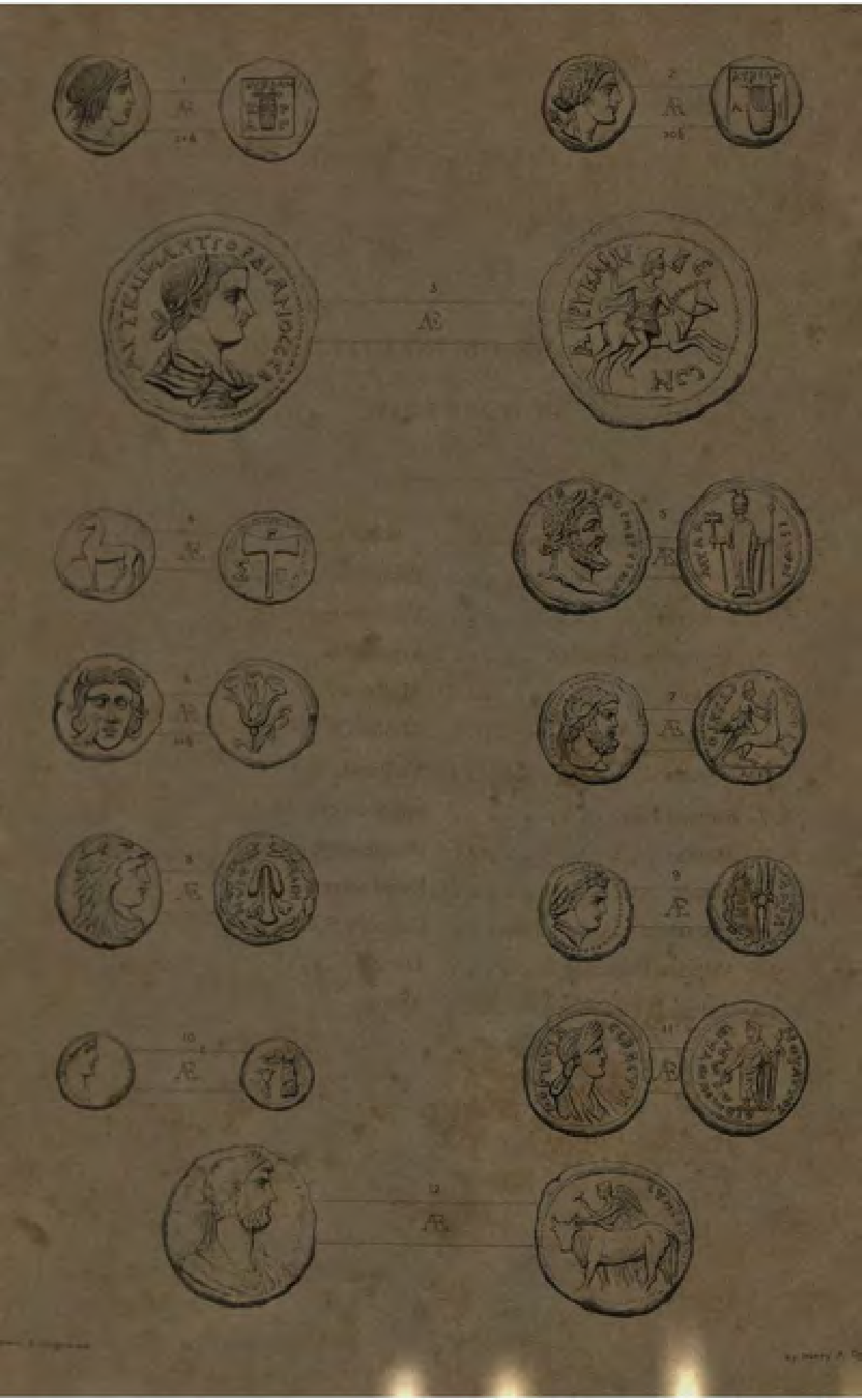
Many Byzantine—Aphrodisias—Attuda (Domitia)—Eumenia (Hadrian) (Plate XXXV. Nos. 10, 11 and 12)—Laodiceia—and some of the age of Alexander.

LIST OF RARE OR INEDITED COINS

IN PLATE XXXIV.

No.	Places to which the Coins belong.	Where found.
1.	Coressus in Ceos	Telmessus.
2.	Uncertain	Smyrna.
3.	Presumed Lycian	Telmessus.
4.	Presumed Lycian	Telmessus.
5.	Kopallé, Lycian	Valley of Xanthus.
6.	Uncertain	Fornas.
7.	Troouneme (Tlos)	Valley of Xanthus.
8.	Ereclé (Heraclein)	Valley of Xanthus.
9.	Myra	Patara.
10.	Cragus	Pinara.
11.	Trabala	Patara.
12.	Tlos	Tlos.
13.	Pinara	Pinara.
14.	Pinara	Pinara.
15.	Presumed Lycian	Telmessus.
16.	Massicytus	Telmessus.
17.	Massicytus	Tlos.

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LIST OF RARE OR INEDITED COINS

IN PLATE XXXV.

No.	Places to which the Coins belong.	Where found.
1.	Cragus	Telmessus.
2.	Limyra	Telmessus.
3.	Arycanda, Gordian	Arycanda.
4.	Mylasa	Mellassa.
5.	Severus	Mellassa.
6.	Uncertain	Mellassa.
7.	Stratoniceia	Stratoniceia.
8.	Alinda	Demmeerge-derasy.
9.	Alinda	Demmeerge-derasy.
10.	Uncertain—Aphrodisias ? . .	Country S.E. of M. Cadmus.
11.	Attuda (Domitia)	Ditto.
12.	Eumenia (Hadrian)	Ditto.

A LIST OF PLANTS

COLLECTED BY THE AUTHOR, DURING HIS TOUR,

BETWEEN THE MONTHS OF FEBRUARY AND JUNE, 1840.

N.B.—*Those to which an asterisk is affixed are new species, and will be found described at the end.*

DICOTYLEDONES v. EXOGENÆ.

RANUNCULACEÆ.

Clematis cirrhosa, *L.*
Anemone coronaria, *L.*
—— apennina, *L.*
Adonis æstivalis, *L.*
Ficaria verna, *Huds.*

BERBERIDEÆ.

Bongardia Rauwolfii, *C. A. Mey.*

PAPAVERACEÆ.

Papaver somniferum, *L.*
—— orientale, *L.*
—— Argemone, *L.*
Glaucium flavum, *Crantz.*
Rœmeria hybrida, *DeCand.*
Hypecoum procumbens, *L.*

FUMARIACEÆ.

Corydalis tuberosa, *DeCand.*
Fumaria capreolata, *L.*
Fumaria parviflora, *Lam.*

CRUCIFERÆ.

Erophila vulgaris, *DeCand.*
Alyssum fulvescens, *Sm.*
Fibigia clypeata, *Med.*
Aubrietia deltoidea, *DeCand.*
Arabis verna, *Br.*
Cardamine hirsuta, *L.*
Diplotaxis tenuifolia, *DeCand.*
Brassica Rapa, *L.*

CISTINEÆ.

Cistus cymosus, *Dun.*
—— salvifolius, *L.*
Helianthemum arabicum, *Pers.*

VIOLARIEÆ.

Viola tricolor *o*, *DeCand.*

CARYOPHYLLEÆ.

Silene Behen, *L.*
—— vespertina, *L.*

Silene orchides, *L.*
—— linoides, *Otth.*
Dianthus prolifer, *L.*
Holosteum umbellatum, *L.*

LINEÆ.

Linum angustifolium, *Sw.*
—— hirsutum, *L.*

GERANIACEÆ.

Erodium cicutarium, *Sw.*
—— ciconium, *Willd.*
—— gruinum, *Willd.*
Geranium tuberosum, *L.*
—— molle, *L.*
—— lucidum, *L.*

RUTACEÆ.

Ruta bracteosa, *DeCand.*

RHAMNEÆ.

Rhamnus oleoides, *L.*
Paliurus aculeatus, *Lam.*

EUPHORBIACEÆ.

Euphorbia dulcis, *L.*
—— rigida, *Bieb.*
Mercurialis annua, *L.*
Ricinus communis, *L.*

TEREBINTHACEÆ.

Pistacia Lentiscus, *L.*

LEGUMINOSÆ.

Anagyris fœtida, *L.*
Calycotome villosa, *Link.*
Anthyllis tetraphylla, *L.*
Lotus creticus, *L.*
Melilotus sulcata, *Desf.*
Trifolium fragiferum, *L.*
Trifolium spumosum, *L.*
—— subterraneum, *L.*
—— procumbens, *L.*
Hymenocarpus circinatus, *Savi.*
Medicago orbicularis, *All.*
—— uncinata, *Willd.*
—— minima, *Lam.*
—— marina, *L.*
Psoralea bituminosa, *L.*
Colutea arborescens, *L.*
Coronilla iberica, *Bieb.*
—— minima, *L.*
Faba vulgaris, *Mœnch.*
Vicia onobrychoides, *L.*
—— polyphylla, *Desf.*
—— hybrida, *L.*
Lathyrus Cicera, *L.*
—— angulatus, *L.*
Pisum fulvum, *Sm.*
Lupinus hirsutus, *L.*
Cercis Siliquastrum, *L.*

ROSACEÆ.

Poterium spinosum, *L.*

TAMARISCINEÆ.

Tamarix gallica, *L.*

CUCURBITACEÆ.

Bryonia dioica, *L.*

PARONYCHIEÆ.

Paronychia argentea, *Lam.*

CRASSULACEÆ.

Umbilicus pendulinus, *DeCand.*

UMBELLIFERÆ.

Scandix australis, *L.*

Caucalis daucoides, *L.*
Tordylium officinale, *L.*
Smyrnium perfoliatum, *L.*

RUBIACEÆ.

Asperula arvensis, *L.*
Galium brevifolium, *Sm.*

VALERIANEÆ.

Valeriana Dioscoridis, *Sm.*

COMPOSITÆ.

Tussilago Farfara, *L.*
Inula candida, *DeCand.*
—— limoniifolia, *Lindl.*
Asteriscus aquaticus, *Mœnch.*
Anthemis arvensis, *L.*
—— rosea, *Sm.*
Achillea cretica, *DeCand.*
Chrysanthemum segetum, *L.*
—— coronarium, *L.*
Senecio squalidus, *L.*
Gnaphalium luteo-album, *L.*
Helichrysum angustifolium, *DeCand.*
Calendula arvensis, *L.*
Carduus crispus, *L.*
Centaurea montana, *L.*
—— Jacea, *L.*
Tragopogon porrifolius, *L.*

CAMPANULACEÆ.

Campanula drabifolia, *Sm.*

STYRACEÆ.

Styrax officinale, *L.*

OLEACEÆ.

Phillyrea latifolia, *L.*

JASMINEÆ.

Jasminum fruticans, *L.*

APOCYNEÆ.

Vinca minor, *L.*

CUSCUTEÆ.

Cuscuta epithymum, *L.*

BORAGINEÆ.

Myosotis sylvatica, *Hoffm.*
Lithospermum orientale, *Willd.*
Anchusa italica, *Retz.*
—— tinctoria, *L.*
—— undulata, *L.*
Cynoglossum officinale, *L.*
Mattia staminea, *Rœm. et Schult.*
Onosma echioides, *L.*
Echium plantagineum, *L.*
—— creticum, *Sm.*

SOLANACEÆ.

Mandragora officinarum, *Bertol.*
Hyoscyamus niger, *L.*
—— agrestis, *Kit.*
—— aureus, *L.*

VERBASCINEÆ.

Verbascum Thapsus, *L.*

SCROPHULARINEÆ.

Veronica cuneifolia *.
—— triphyllos, *L.*
—— grandiflora *.
—— Cymbalaria, *Vahl.*
Linaria pelisseriana, *DeCand.*
Anarrhinum bellidifolium, *Desf.*

Scrophularia peregrina, *L.*
—— canina, *L.*

OROBANCHEÆ.
Orobanche caryophyllacea, *Sm.*

LABIATÆ.
Teucrium regium, *Schreb.*
Lavandula Stæchas, *L.*
Lamium moschatum, *Mill.*
—— purpureum, *L.*
Phlomis lycia *.
Salvia triloba, *L.*
—— Horminum, *L.*

PRIMULACEÆ.
Anagallis arvensis *a* et *β*, *L.*
Cyclamen persicum, *L.*

PLANTAGINEÆ.
Plantago cretica, *L.*

CHENOPODIACEÆ.
Salicornia fruticosa, *L.*

POLYGONEÆ.
Rumex bucephalophorus, *L.*
—— Acetosa, *L.*

ELÆAGNEÆ.
Elæagnus angustifolia, *L.*

THYMELÆÆ.
Daphne collina, *L.*
—— argentea, *Sm.*
Passerina hirsuta, *L.*

LAURINEÆ.
Laurus nobilis, *L.*

PLATANEÆ.
Platanus orientalis, *L.*

BALSAMIFLUÆ.
Liquidambar orientale, *Mill.*

CUPULIFERÆ.
Quercus Ballota, *Desf.*
—— coccifera, *L.*
—— Ægilops, *L.*

CONIFERÆ.
Pinus Pinea, *L.*
—— carica *
—— Laricio, *Lam.*
Cupressus sempervirens *a* et *β*, *L.*
Juniperus communis, *L.*

MONOCOTYLEDONES v. ENDOGENÆ.

GRAMINEÆ.
Briza maxima, *L.*
Stipa tortilis, *Desf.*
Ægilops ovata, *L.*

MELANTHACEÆ.
Merendera Bulbocodium, *Ram.*

LILIACEÆ.
Fritillaria Meleagris, *L.*
Lloydia græca, *Endl.*
Gagea spathacea, *Rom.* & *Schult.*
Hyacinthus orientalis, *L.*
Muscari moschatum, *Willd.*

Muscari comosum, *Willd.*
—— botryoides, *Willd.*
Bellevalia romana, *Lapeyr.*
Scilla bifolia, *L.*
Allium nigrum, *L.*
—— neapolitanum, *Cyr.*
—— triquetrum, *L.*
—— junceum, *Sm.*
Aloe vulgaris, *Sm.*
Ornithogalum umbellatum, *L.*
—— nanum, *Sm.*
Myogalum nutans, *Link.*
Asphodelus ramosus, *L.*
Asparagus acutifolius, *L.*

SMILACEÆ.

Smilax aspera, *L.*
Ruscus aculeatus, *L.*

DIOSCOREACEÆ.

Tamus cretica, *L.*

AMARYLLIDEÆ.

Narcissus Tazetta, *L.*

IRIDEÆ.

Iris florentina, *L.*
—— Sisyrinchium, *L.*
—— tuberosa, *L.*
Trichonema Columnæ, *Reichenb.*
Gladiolus communis, *L.*
—— segetum, *Kit.*

ORCHIDEÆ.

Orchis papilionacea, *L.*
—— provincialis, *Balb.*
—— longibracteata, *Bie.*
—— longicornis, *Desf.*
Ophrys fusca, *Link.*
—— Tenoreana, *Lindl.*
—— mammosa, *Desf.*
—— Ferrum-equinum, *Desf.*
Serapias Lingua, *L.*
—— cordigera, *L.*

AROIDEÆ.

Arum Dracunculus, *L.*
Arisarum vulgare, *Schott.*

ACOTYLEDONES v. ACROGENÆ.

LYCOPODIACEÆ.

Lycopodium denticulatum, *L.*

FILICES.

Polypodium vulgare, *L.*
Ceterach officinarum, *Willd.*
Cheilanthes odora, *Sw.*
Adiantum Capillus Veneris, *L.*

LICHENES.

Evernia prunastri, *Ach.*

DESCRIPTIONS OF THE NEW SPECIES.

Veronica cuneifolia.

V. glanduloso-pubescens; racemis axillaribus, segmentis calycinis oblongis obtusis corollâ brevioribus, ovario suborbiculato scabro, foliis subsessilibus cuneatis inciso-crenatis, caule suffruticoso procumbente.

Habitat in Lyciæ rupibus ad Arycandum fluvium.

Fruticulus procumbens, ramosissimus, *V. saxatili* parùm major. *Rami* filiformes, purpurascentes, foliosi, fragiles, pube brevissimâ glandulosâ vestiti. *Folia* opposita, brevissimè petiolata, cuneata, inciso-crenata, coriacea, avenia, utrinque pubescentia, scabriuscula, subtùs costâ prominente subcarinata, 2–3 lineas longa, sesqui v. 2 lineas lata. *Petioli* pubescentes, vix lineam longi, latiusculi, suprà canaliculati, subtùs obtusè carinati, imâ basi subconnati. *Racemi* in ramis solitarii, axillares, multiflori, pedunculati. *Pedunculus* folio longior, filiformis, glanduloso-pubescens, purpurascens. *Bracteæ* pedicellis capillaribus longiores; *inferiores* inciso-crenatæ, foliis consimiles; *superiores* subspathulatæ, integerrimæ. *Calyx* copiosiùs glanduloso-pubescens, 4-partitus: *segmentis* oblongis, obtusis; 2 *anterioribus* majoribus. *Corolla V. saxatilis*, cyanea? calyce major: *tubo* brevissimo, violaceo: *limbo* 4-partito: *laciniis* rotundatis, integris, venulosis; *infimâ* duplò angustiore. *Stamina* corollâ breviora: *filamenta* filiformia, glabra, violacea: *antheræ* subrotundæ, biloculares, flavæ. *Ovarium* compressum, orbiculare, asperè pubescens, integrum. *Stylus* capillaris, glaber, corollam superans. *Stigma* capitatum, exiguum.

This is a very distinct and well-marked species, with the habit of *V. saxatilis*, but there is none with which it can be confounded, and if introduced to our gardens it would prove an interesting addition to the rock-work. Its cuneiform, deeply crenate leaves, and rough pubescent fruit will serve to distinguish it from *saxatilis*, as well as from every other shrubby species.

Veronica grandiflora.

V. annua, erecta, glanduloso-pubescens; floribus solitariis, segmentis calycinis linearibus obtusis, corollâ calyce triplò longiore: laciniis rhombeo-ovatis subunguiculatis, foliis inferioribus petiolatis ovatis crenatis; superioribus sessilibus pinnatifidis tripartitisve.

Habitat in Cariâ ad Mæandrum fluvium, et prope Mylasam. Floret Martio.

Radix fibrosa, annua. *Caulis* erectus, filiformis, simplex v. ramosus, copiosè glanduloso-pubescens, purpurascens, bipollicaris. *Cotyledones* adhuc persistentes, subreniformes, integerrimæ, petiolatæ. *Folia inferiora* brevissimè petiolata, ovata, obtusa, crenata, 3–5 lineas longa, utrinque pilis brevissimis articulatis, at rarò glanduliferis, copiosè vestita; *superiora* sessilia, pinnatifida v. tripartita: *segmentis* linearibus, obtusis, integerrimis; *terminali* majori, subspathulato. *Flores* in apice caulis axillares, solitarii, pedunculati. *Pedunculi* capillares, copiosè glanduloso-pubescentes, foliis tripartitis ter longiores. *Calyx* copiosè glanduloso-pubescens, 4-partitus: *segmentis* linearibus, obtusis; 2 *anterioribus* majoribus. *Corolla* omnium maxima, diametro semuncialis et ultrà, cyanea: *tubo* brevissimo, luteo: *limbo* profundè 4-partito: *laciniis* rhombeo-ovatis, obtusis, basi angustatâ luteâ subunguiculatis; *anticâ* minore. *Stamina* corollâ multoties breviora: *filamenta* gracilia, glabra, lutescentia: *antheræ* cordato-oblongæ, obtusæ, violaceæ. *Ovarium* subrotundum, glabrum, integrum. *Stylus* corollâ longior, capillaris, glaber, superne incrassatus, subclavatus. *Stigma* parvum, subcapitatum. Capsulam nondùm vidi.

A truly elegant little plant, well deserving of being added to the catalogue of ornamental annuals, from the size and beauty of its flowers. Its deeply pinnatifid and tripartite leaves, with entire linear or spathulate segments, will readily distinguish it

from the *V. amœna* of Steven, and from *V. pumila*, from Mount Hæmus, described and figured in the second volume of Dr. Clarke's Travels, at page 559.

Phlomis lycia.

P. fruticosa, ferrugineo-tomentosa; foliis cordato-oblongis obtusis, verticillastris plurifloris, bracteis lanceolatis calycibusque mucronato-spinosis densè albo-lanatis, dentibus calycinis uncinatis, filamentis inappendiculatis.

Habitat in Lyciæ septentrionalis sylvis montosis.

Suffrutex erectus, ramosus, pedalis, pube stellatâ rubiginosâ undique densè tomentosus. *Rami* 4-anguli. *Folia* petiolata, cordato-oblonga, obtusa, crenata, rugoso-venosa, utrinque tomento stellato copiosè vestita, pollicem longa, semunciam lata; *floralia* vix cordata. *Petioli* angusti, 3 lineas longi, suprà canaliculati. *Verticillastri* terminales, pluri-(6–8)flori. *Bracteæ* adpressæ, lanceolatæ, mucronato-spinosæ, lanâ longissimâ molli albâ densè vestitæ. *Calyces* bracteis vix longiores, extùs albo-lanati: *fauce* pilosissimâ: *dentibus* brevibus, subulatis, mucronato-spinosis, apice nudis, uncinatis. *Corolla* subuncialis, calyce vix duplò longior: *tubo* glabriusculo, infernè angustato, supernè parùm dilatato, intùs fasciculis 5 pilorum aucto: *fauce* intùs glabrâ: *limbo* extùs tomento fasciculato-ramoso flavicanti subadpresso vestito; *labio superiore* galeato, margine truncato, emarginato; *inferiore* longiore, trilobo; *laciniis lateralibus* ovatis, obtusis, conduplicatis, suprà glabris; *intermediâ* orbiculatâ, integrâ, suprà glabrâ, margine parùm undulatâ. *Filamenta* compressa, inappendiculata, puberula. *Antheræ* glabræ. *Stylus* glaber. *Stigma* bifidum; *lobo superiore* latiore, obtuso; *inferiore* acutiusculo, parùm longiore.

This plant, Mr. Fellows informs me, is common in mountainous woods in the northern parts of Lycia. It is evidently nearly allied to the *P. ferruginea* of Tenore, but its lanceolate,

spinously mucronate, woolly bractes, simple filaments, and subulate, spinous, uncinate calycine teeth, essentially distinguish it from that species as well as from *P. armeniaca*.

Pinus carica.

P. foliis binis prælongis tenuissimis rectis margine denticulato-scabris: vaginis abbreviatis subintegris, strobilis ovato-oblongis rectis lævigatis: squamis apice rhomboideis depressis truncatis rimulisque radiatis.

Habitat in Cariæ montibus.

Arbor magna. *Ramuli* scabriusculi, fusci. *Folia* bina, erecta, recta, tenuissima, mucronata, nunc levitèr tortilia, lætè viridia, subtùs convexa, lævia, nitida, suprà canaliculata, margine denticulato-scabra, 6–7-pollicaria: *vaginæ* 2–3 lineas longæ, cylindraceæ, fuscescentes, annulatim rugosæ, ore subintegro nudiusculo. *Squamæ stipulares* (folia primaria) lanceolatæ, acuminatæ, coriaceæ, spadiceæ, margine filamentoso-ciliatæ, basi diu persistenti. *Strobili* ovato-oblongi, obtusi, recti, lævigati, nitidi, spadicei, 3–4 pollices longi, diametro 2-unciales: *squamis* apice depressis, rhomboideis, planiusculis, transversè subcarinatis, rimulis radiatim notatis, medio truncatis, areolâ transversè elliptica cinerascenti umbilicatis.

I have ventured to propose this as a distinct species, although, from its near relationship to *halepensis*, I think it not unlikely that it may prove to be only a remarkable local form of that species. It is chiefly distinguished from *halepensis* by its much longer leaves, and larger cones, the apex of whose scales are broader, and marked with numerous radiating fissures. The leaves are double the length of those of the *maritima* of Lambert, and the cones are larger and more oblong.

DAVID DON.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.

GREEK INSCRIPTIONS.

The following inscriptions in themselves afford materials for a separate work. They derive a peculiar interest from elucidating the customs, character, games, government, and language of the Ancients. For the translation and explanation of these inscriptions, the reader is indebted to the indefatigable research of Mr. Hermann Wiener.

No. 1.—Page 8.—In the Valley of Caystrus.

The names of Marcus Antonius joined to Greek cognomens are not unfrequent in inscriptions in this country.—Boeckh, 2767, 2785, 2811.

The name of Nicephorus is also common.—Boeckh, 2835.

TRALLES.

No. 2.—Page 17.

We know too little of the particulars in the administration of government and municipal affairs in Roman provinces to define the functions of Marcus Aurelius Arestus (?) with certainty. To

the office of Eirenarchos (line 4), according to the *Schol. ad Aristoph. Ran.* 1103, there belonged part of the guardianship of public peace and morals; it would then, along with that of Agoranomos (line 3), have been included in the functions of a Roman Ædilis; those of the Architamias (line 6) would correspond to the functions of the Quæstor; the title of Strategos (lines 4 and 5) was given to municipal as well as to Roman officers (J. Eckhel Doctr. Num. t. iv. p. 215). Arestus was also Bularchos (line 2), *i. e.* President of the municipal Council (the Βουλη or Decuriones), and Decaprotos (line 5—see another inscription published by Walpole, Travels, ii. p. 541, Boeckh, 2639). The Δεκαπρωτοι, or, as Cicero (pro Roscio, c. 12) calls them, Decemprimi, are generally stated to have had no particular functions, but only enjoyed a superior rank in the municipal Council, of which they were a principal part, but no committee. The Gerusia, on the contrary (last line), Boeckh (2811) supposes to have been a committee chosen from the Council, as the Prytanis was at Athens. The names of Βουλη, Δημος, Γερουσια, to which we must take care not to attach the notions familiar to us from the Greek classics, are very often placed together on the monuments of Asia Minor; and these corporations must have been very closely connected, as our inscription shows that they had but one secretary in common. To the Βουλη there seems to be ascribed in line 8 its common epithet Κρατιστη. In the following line the date of the above honorary decree may have been indicated; for Περειτιος is the fourth month in the Syro-Macedonian calendar: Pereitus, however, is also the name of a person (Boeckh, 2770, 2771); that of Soterichus is not unfrequent (Boeckh, vol. i. p. 725).

Nos. 3 and 4.—Pages 18 and 19.

The last two lines of the first: Παλαμαισιν εμεν νεκυν ενθα ταφηναι. In the third line the name Προτογορου appears. In

the second: ..... *νεικης ασμενιον* (?) ..... *δε Μοιρα κραταιη* ..... *ηγαγε(μι?)ν και νυν* ..... *προκειμαι, εισοτε* (?) *βιοτου χειρσιν φονιαις αμαραντο.*

No. 5.—Page 19.

No 6.—Upon a pedestal.

ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΝ◢ΛΑΥΔΙ◢◢
ΚΑΙΣΑ◢
ΓΕΡΜΑΙ◢
ΟΔΗΝ◢
ΑΝΑΘΕΝ◢
ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥ
ΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥ◢

This appears to have been surmounted by a statue of "Tiberius Claudius Cæsar Germanicus (the Emperor Claudius), consecrated by the People under the superintendence of Tiberius Claudius Diogenes, son of Artemidorus, of the Roman tribus Quirina, who erected it at his own expense whilst he was Gymnasiarchos." Published by Boeckh, 2922, from Sherard, who must have seen the inscription in a more perfect state.

No. 7.—Built into a wall.

◢ΟΣΤΕΙΜΑΡΧΟΣ
◢ΟΠΩΛΗΣ
◢ΥΝΗΗΓΗΣΙΠΗΣ
◢ΣΚΑΙΧΡΗΣΤ
◢CAIPE

"..... Timarchus, a ..... dealer, and Hegesippe his wife, ... thou ..... and good one, farewell."

No. 8.—Page 21.—At Keosk.

No. 9.—Page 23.—At Sultan Hissá.

The final word of the third line is to be read ϹΥΓΓ*ενη ακιν*.

No. 10.—Page 25.—At Naslee.

.....(*τετρα*)*κις* Λειλια. Ταυτης *επιγραφης αντιγραφον απετεθη ες τα αρχεια επι στεφανηφορου* Κλ. Αλεξανδρου, *μηνος* Πα*νεμου ιβ*.

No. 11.—Page 27.

No. 12.—At Karasoo.

ϟΑ◢
ΡΑΣ◢
ΧΡΗ◢
ΔΙΚΑ◢
ΔΗΜ◢

ΤΗΝ◢
ΤΟΥ◢
ΠΟΙ◢
ΑΜΑ◢
ΑΥΤ◢

APHRODISIAS.

No. 13.—Page 34.

No. 14.—In the theatre.

ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΗΘΕΟΙΣΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΙΣΤΩΙ
Η◢Ι ⊠ ΚΑΙΤΑΑΝΑΛΗΜΜΑΤΑΑΡΙΣΤΟ
ΚΛΗΣΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥΜΟΛΟΣΣΟΣΦΙΛΟ
ΔΟΞΟΣΚΑΙΦΙΛΟΠΟΛΙΣΕΡΓΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΗ
ΣΙΟΙΝ ⊠ ΤΟΣΕΡΜΑΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΥΣΤΟΥ
ΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΥΚΑΤΑΤΑΣΜΟΛΟΣΣΟΥ
ΤΟΥΘΡΕΨΑΝΤΟΣΑΥΤΟΥΔΙΑΘΗΚΑ

"To Aphrodite, the august Gods. The ..... and the substructions (has consecrated), Aristocles Molossus, the son of Artemidorus, a lover of glory and a lover of his native town; Hermes, son of Aristocles, the son of Artemidorus, superintending the work in pursuance of the will of Molossus, who had brought him up."

Published by Boeckh (n. 2747), from Sherard's MS., who reads in the fifth line ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΙΟΥΣ, whilst in our copy there appears the common form Αριστοκλεους. The word which terminates the fourth and begins the fifth line, has certainly the sense of εργεπιστατησαντος, but we give it unchanged from the original transcript, as well as the letters at the end of the first and commencement of the second lines.

No. 15.—Built into the south-east wall.

ΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΗΣΕΡΜΟΓΕΝΟΥΣΤΟΕΠΙΣΤΥΛΙΟΝ
ΚΑΙΤΟΝΕΠΑΥΤΟΥΚΟΣΜΟΝΤΩΙΔΗΜΩΙ

"Hermogenes, the son of Hermogenes, [gives] the architrave, and the ornament upon it to the People."

ΤΟΥΤΟΕΠΙΣΤΥΛΙΟΝ
ΥΚΟΣΜΟΝΤΩΙΔΗΜΩΙ

Fragment of an inscription of similar contents.

No. 16.—In the south-east wall.

ΤΟΚΡΑΤΩΡΚΑΙΣΑΡ
ΕΥΣΕΒΗΣΕΥΤΥΧΗΣΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣΔΗΜΑΚΗΣ
ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΣΤΟΓΥΠΑΤΟΣΤΟΒΑΠΟΔΕΔΕΙΓΜΕΝΟΣΤΟΤΡΙΤΟΝ
ΠΑΤΗΡΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΟΣΚΑΙ
ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣΜΕΓΙΣΤΟΣΔΗΜΑΡΧΙΚΗΣΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΣ
ΤΟΠΡΩΤΟΝΥΠΑΤΟΣΑΠΟΔΕΔΕΙΓΜΕΝΟΣΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΣΙΕΩΝΤΟΙΣ
ΑΡΧΟΥΣΙΝΚΑΙΤΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΤΩΔΗΜΩΧΑΙΡΕΙΝ
ΕΙΚΟΣΗΝΥΜΑΣΚΑΙΔΙΑΤΗΝΕΠΩΝΥΜΟΝΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣΘΕΟΝΚΑΙ
ΔΙΑΤΗΝΠΡΟΣΡΩΜΑΙΟΥΣΟΙΚΕΟΤΗΤΑΤΕΚΑΙΠΙΣΤΙΝΗΣΘΗΝΑΙ
ΜΕΝΕΠΙΤΗΚΑΤΑΣΤΑΣΕΙΤΗΣΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑΣΤΗΣΗΜΕΤΕΡΑΣ
ΘΥΣΙΑΣΔΕΚΑΙΕΥΧΑΣΑΠΟΔΟΥΝΑΙΔΙΚΑΙΑΣΚΑΙΗΜΕΙΣΔΕ
ΤΗΝΤΕΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΑΝΥΜΕΙΝΦΥΛΑΤΤΟΜΕΝΤΗΝΥΠΑΡΧΟΥΣΑΝ
ΚΑΙΤΑΑΛΛΑΔΕΣΥΝΠΑΝΤΑΔΙΚΑΙΑΟΠΟΣΩΝΠΑΡΑΤΩΝΠΡΟΗ
ΜΩΝΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΩΝΤΕΤΥΧΗΚΑΤΕΣΥΝΑΥΞΕΙΝΕΤΟΙΜΩΣ
ΧΟΝΤΕΣΥΜΩΝΚΑΙΤΑΣΠΡΟΣΤΟΜΕΛΛΟΝΕΛΠΙΔΑΣ
ΕΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΟΝΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΙΘΕΟΔΩΡΟΣΚΑΙΟΝΗΣΙΜΟΣ
ΕΥΤΥΧΕΙΤΕ

"..... Emperor Cæsar [names erased], the Pious and Happy, Augustus, in the third year of his tribunitial power and in his second Consulship, Consul Elect for the third time, the Father of his country, Proconsul, and [name erased] ..... Supreme Pontiff, in the first year of his tribunitial power, Consul Elect:

"To the Magistrates and the Senate, and the People of the Aphrodisians, greeting.

"It was meet for you, on account as well of the Goddess that gave your city its name, as your relations with the Romans and your good faith, to rejoice at the establishment of our reign, and to offer the due sacrifices and prayers. And likewise we protect your liberty, which now is, and all other things [that are] right, which you have obtained of the Emperors before us, being willing to unite with you in advancing your hopes for the future also. Ambassadors were Aurelius [?], Theodorus and Onesimus. Farewell."

Published and explained by Boeckh, Corp. Inscr., n. 2743.

The erased names of the two princes, who held together the reign of the Roman empire, can be no other than those of Diocletian and Maximian; and the date of the above letter which contains the answer of the princes to the congratulatory address sent from the Aphrodisians by Onesimus and Theodorus, is 286 after Christ. In this year the Princes, as the coins show us, had the titles above mentioned, viz. DIOCLetianus AVGustus TRibunitiæ Potestatis III. COnSul II., DESignatus III., Pontifex Maximus (which seems not to have been in our inscription), Pater Patriæ, and MAXIMianus AVG. TR. P. COS. DES. P.M. P.P. The fact of the names being erased, is easily explained by the hatred which the persecuted Christians bore to these emperors; the next inscription will show that the Christians had not long afterwards a strong influence in the management of public affairs at Aphrodisias.

No. 17.—Page 35.

The barbarous form of *αναινεωθη* instead of *ανενεωθη*, may be partly accounted for by the fact, that the diphthong *αι* was even by the Greeks sometimes pronounced like *ε*. Vide Osann, Sylloge Inscript. p. 441.

No. 18.—Over the west gateway.

ΑΓΑΘΗ▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲Η
ΥΠΕΡΥΓΙΕΙΑϹΚΑΙϹΩΤΗΡΙΑϹΚΑΙΤΙΜΗϹΚΑΙΝΙΚΗϹ
ΚΑΙΑΙΩΝΙΟΥΔΙΑΜΟΝΗϹΤΩΝΔΕϹΠΟΤΩΝΗΜΩΝ
▲ΙΟΥΛΚΩΝϹΤΑΝΤΙΟΥΕΥϹΕΒΟΥϹΑΗΤΗΤΟΥϹΕΒΑϹΤΟΥΚΑΙ-
▲▲ΕΠΙΦΑΝΕϹΤΑΤΟΥΚΑΙΓΕΝΝΑΙΟΤΑΤΟΥΚΑΙϹΑΡΟϹ
ΦΛΚΥΙΝΤΙΕΡΩϹΜΟΝΑΤΙΟϹΟΔΙΑϹΗΜΟΤΑΤΟϹΗΕΙΟΝ▲
ΚΑΙΑΠΟΚΡΗΤΑΡΧΩΝΤΟΝ▲ ▲ΝΤΗ▲▲ΡΑ
ΚΑΙϹΥΓΓΕΝΕΙΚΡΗΤΩΝ▲
ΓΥ ¯

"May fortune be favourable!

"For the good health, and the safety, and the honours, and the victory, and perpetual welfare of our lords: Flavius Julius Constantius, the Pious, the Never-Vanquished, Augustus and [name erased] the most excellent and noble Cæsar, Fl. Quintius Eros Monaxius [?], the most distinguished Governor, and one of the Cretarchæ, has erected it on his own expense ..... for the splendid Metropolis of the Tauropolitans, the relations of the Cretans."

This inscription is published and explained by Boeckh (n. 2744), from Sherard's, Spanheim's, and Richter's manuscripts. The name erased is either that of Gallus, who fell a victim to Constantius, and was even after his death maltreated by him, or that of the famous emperor Julianus, whose name after his death was erased by the Christians. We are inclined to adopt the latter opinion, seeing that mention is made in the inscription of a relationship existing between the Cretans and the people of Aphrodisias. This was certainly the case in times long passed by, when this inscription was written (Herod. I. 172), and a revival like this was in the spirit of the age of Julianus.

No. 19.—In the south-east wall.

ΡΚΕΙΔΑΚΑΙΤΑΕΨΕ
ΗΣΑΝΤΟΣΕΡΜΑ
ΟΙΙΔΙΑ>ΟΜΑΤΟΥ

ΛΙΔΑΣΑΡΙΣΤΟ
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΥ
ΘΕΑΤΡΟΥ

To judge from their position, these two fragments formed part of one inscription, which probably recorded some gift made toward building or ornamenting the theatre, the *diazoma* of which is mentioned in the last line. There seems to appear in it the same Hermes, son of Aristocles, whom our inscription 14. shows as concerned in a liberal donation to the Gods and the People of Aphrodisias.

No. 20.—On the north side of the city.

ΦΑΜΙΛΙΑΖΗΝΩΝ
ΤΟΥΥΨΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ
ΤΟΥΥΨΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ
ΤΟΥΦΥΣΕΙΖΗΝΩ
ΝΟΣΥΨΙΚΛΕΟΥΣ
ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣΜΟΝΟ
ΜΑΧΩΝΚΑΙΚΑΤΑ
ΔΙΚΩΝΚΑΙΤΑΥΡΟΚΑ

"The troop of gladiators, convicts, and bull-baiters belonging to Zeno, the high-priest, son of Hypsicles, the son of Hypsicles, the son of Hypsicles, who was by birth the son of Zeno."

Troops, or, to preserve the Roman appellation, which is preserved in the Greek inscriptions, *families* of gladiators, are mentioned in two other inscriptions of Asia Minor (Boeckh, 1511), as being kept by the Asiarchæ, on whom it was incumbent, as

well as on the High-priests, to amuse the public with games. Ours, it seems, is the only Greek inscription, bearing witness to the commonly known fact of convicts being employed as gladiators. The bull-baitings (ταυροκαθαψιαι, vide Chishull Antt. As. p. 95), mentioned in the last line, were originally a Thessalian game, in Rome first exhibited by the Emperor Claudius (Sueton. vit. Claud., c. 21, Plin. H. N. viii. 45), and much liked at Ephesus and Smyrna. A very good representation of them we see in a bas-relief, brought from the latter city to Oxford (Marmora Oxon. ed. Chandler, p. 105. lviii.): unarmed horsemen, coming up at full speed with bulls, whom they try to hold down by the horns, not always of course successfully. The abbreviation ΤΑΥΡΟΚΑ, which closes the inscription, may be interpreted into ταυροκαθαπτων, or ταυροκθαψιων, the latter indeed less grammatical, but in keeping with the κυνηγεσιων in Boeckh, Inscr. 1511. The gladiators were no adepts in the writing of Greek; and we may, therefore, without scruple translate Ζηνων in the first line as if it were Ζηνωνος; the more so as the genitive αρχιερεως belongs to it as apposition. The families of Zeno and of Hypsicles being frequently mentioned on the monuments and coins (Eckhel D.N. II. 575) of Aphrodisias, must have been among the first of the city. Their names were nearly hereditary; hence our inscription, to explain the fact, why the descendant of so many called Hypsicles, should himself have the name of Zeno, carries his lineage up to his great-grandfather, who had been adopted into the Hypsicles' family, belonging by birth to that of the Zenos.

No. 21.—Outside of the west wall.

The pedestal upon which the following was written was so completely covered with inscriptions, that the commencement, as well as the first and final letters of each line which were cut in

the cornice and mouldings, have been imperfectly transcribed; the rest was copied by impressing paper upon the stone.

ΔΠΑΡΑΔΟΞΟΣΚΑΙΔΙΑΒΙΟΥΞΥΣΤΑΡΧΗΣ
[Τ]ΩΝΕΝΚΟΛΩΝΕΙΑΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΙΑΑΓΩΝΩΝ
ΑΘΛΗΣΑΣΕΝΔΟΞΩΣΚΑΙΕΠΙΜΕΛΩΣΕΠΙΤΟ
ΣΟΥΤΟΝΔΟΞΗΣΠΡΟΕΒΗΩΣΠΡΩΤΟΝ
[Α]ΝΕΛΕΣΘΑΙΕΥΤΥΧΩΣΤΟΣΟΥΤΟΥΣΑΓΩ
[Ν]ΑΣΚΑΙΔΟΞΑΣΑΙΚΑΘΕΚΑΣΤΟΝΑΓΩΝΑΤ[ΗΝ]
[Λ]ΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΗΝΠΑΤΡΙΔΑΑΥΤΟΥΚΗΡΥΓΜ[ΑΣ]
ΙΝΚΑΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΙΣΜΑΛΙΣΤΑΔΕΚΑΙΕΠΙ
ΔΟΥΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟΥΩΣΟΥΜΟΝΟΝΣΤ[ΕΦΑΝ]
[Ω]ΘΗΝΑΙΤΑΙΣΕΚΕΙΝΟΥΧΕΙΡΣΙΝΑΛΛΑΚ[ΑΙ]
[ΤΕΙΜ]ΑΙΣΕΞΑΙΡΕΤΟΙΣΤΕΙΜΗΘΗΝΑΙΜΕΤΑ[ΔΕΤΑΥΤ]
[ΑΓ]ΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣΞΥΣΤΑΡΧΗΣΤΟΣΑΥΤΗΕ[Υ]
[Ν]ΟΙΑΚΑΙΕΠΙΜΕΛΕΙΑΜΕΤΑΣΠΟΥΔΗΣΑΠ[Α]
ΣΗΣΚΗΔΕΤΑΙΤΩΝΗΜΕΙΝΔΙΑΦΕΡΟΝ
ΤΩΝΤΑΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΑΚΑΙΑΡΙΣΤΑΠΟΛΕΙΤ[ΕΥ]
ΟΜΕΝΟΣΕΝΗΜΕΙΝΚΑΙΔΙΑΤΑΥΤΑΚΑΙΑΛ[ΛΑ]
ΤΕΜΕΝΠΟΛΛΑΚΙΣΚΑΙΤΑΝΥΝΕΠΑΙΝΟ[ΥΝ]
[Τ]ΕΣΤΟΝΑΝΔΡΑΚΑΙΜΑΡΤΥΡΟΥΝΤΕΣΑΥ[ΤΩ]
ΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΑΤΟΙΣΚΥΡΙΟΙΣΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤ[ΟΡ]
[Σ]ΙΝΠΕΠΟΜΦΑΜΕΝΗΓΟΥΜΕΝΟΙΜΕΓ[ΙΣΤ]
[Α]ΣΚΑΙΑΝΤΑΞΙΑΣΑΜΟΙΒΑΣΑΥΤΩΓΕΝΕ[ΣΘ]
[Α]ΙΑΝΤΙΤΗΣΠΕΡΙΗΜΑΣΕΥΝΟΙΑΣΚΑΙΟΤΙ
ΟΝΗΜΑΣΙΝΙΚΑΝΟΙΣΚΑΙΚΟΠΩΠΟΛΛΩΠ
[Ε]ΓΕΝΕΤΟΚΑΙΔΙΕΠΡΑΞΑΤΟΑΧΘΗΝΑΙΤΟΝΕΝ
ΟΣΑΓΩΝΑΠΑΡΑΤΟΙΣΑΝΤΙΟΧΕΥΣΙΝΩΣΝΟ
ΑΕΙΝΗΜΑΣΟΙΚΟΘΕΝΠΑΡΑΥΤΟΥΑΝΗΝΗΣ
ΤΟ ΑΤΑΔΙΑΥΑΥΤΑΔΕΔΟΧΘΑΙΤΥΧΗΑΓΑ[ΘΗ]
ΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΣΑΙΤΩΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΩΕΠΙΤΕΤΗΣΙΕΡΩ
ΤΑΤΗΣΒΟΥΛΗΣΚΑΙΤΟΥΑΜΠΡΟΤΑΤΟΥΔΗΜΟΥ
ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΣΙΕΩΝΠΕΡΙΤΩΝΠΡΟΗΓΟΡΕΥΜΕΝΩΝ
ΤΕΙΜΗΣΑΙΤΕΑΥΤΟΝΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΩΝΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΕΙΚΑΙ
ΕΙΚΟΝΩΝΑΝΑΘΕΣΕΙΕΝΤΩΕΠΙΣΗΜΟΤΑΤΩ

ΤΗΣΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣΤΟΠΩΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΗΣΟΜΕΝΩΝ
ΤΩΝΤΕΙΜΩΝΤΗΠΡΟΓΡΑΦΗΤΟΥΔΕΤΟΥΨΗ
ΦΙΣΜΑΤΟΣΠΡΟΣΤΟΑΙΩΝΙΟΥΣΥΠΑΡΞΑΙΑΥ
ΤΩΤΑΣΠΑΡΗΜΩΝΤΕΙΜΑΣ

ΕΣΤΙΝΔΕΚΑΙΠΟΛΕΙΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΝΤΩΝΥΠΟ
ΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΩΝΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝΑΝΤΙΟΧΕ
ΩΝΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΝΚΟΛΩΝΩΝΚΑΙΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΗΣ
ΘΗΡΑΙΩΝΚΑΙΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΗΣΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤ
ΛΥΚΙΩΝΘΡΑΚΩΝΚΑΙΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΗΣΜΕΙΛΗ
ΣΙΩΝΠΕΣΣΙΝΟΥΝΤΙΩΝΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΩΝ
ΕΠΙΜΕΛΗΘΕΝΤΟΣΤΩΝΤΕΙΜΩΝΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ
ΤΟΥΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥΤΟΥΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥΤΟΥ
ΑΔΕΛΦΟΥΑΥΤΟΥ

" . . . . . the extraordinary, and for his lifetime Xystarches of the games [celebrated] in the colony of Antiocheia. Being a glorious and diligent Athlete, he advanced so far in glory as to be the first who fortunately carried off so great prizes, and so as to glorify along with each prize his most splendid native city, by proclamations and crowns; but chiefly under . . . . . Antoninus, so as to be not only crowned by his [the Emperor's] hands, but honoured also by extraordinary [gifts]. Having afterwards become Xystarches, he with the greatest benevolence and diligence, and all [possible] zeal, takes care of our interests, conducting himself as a very good and honourable citizen amongst us. And in regard to these and other things, we, praising the man and bearing him testimony, have often and at present sent decrees to our masters, the Emperors; being of opinion that there should be made to him very great [?] and corresponding returns for his benevolence towards us, and because he put himself to considerable expense and much trouble, and effected . . . . . It was therefore decreed—May it be fortunate! to render thanks unto Menander on the part both of the most worshipful Council and the most splendid

People of the Aphrodisians, in consideration of the aforesaid points, and to honour him by erecting statues and putting up images in the most conspicuous place of the city, his honours being recorded in the preamble of this decree, to the end that his honours amongst us may be perpetuated.

"He is also a citizen of the under-mentioned cities, [that of the] Pergamenes, Antiocheians, Cæsarean Colonists; and a Councilman of the Theræans, and a Councilman of the Apolloniatæ in Lycia [and in] Thracia, and a Councilman of the Milesians, Pessinuntians and Claudiopolitans.

"There acted as superintendent in [conferring] these honours, his brother Zeno, son of Apollonius, the son of Menander."

It is seldom that inscriptions copied from pedestals are transmitted to us entire, the upper lines being commonly written on the projecting part of the stone, where they were less secure. Thus we do not know in what office or offices Menander, probably at Aphrodisias, proved himself "extraordinary." The office of Xystarches, which he held at Antiochia, is mentioned in a few other Greek inscriptions (Gruter, p. 314, 1; Murator, p. 650, 1; Boeckh, 1758, at Aphrodisias). The Xystus, *i. e.* a walk or arcade, being so essential a part of the Gymnasium, the terms Xystarches and Gymnasiarches might be taken as synonymous; it seems, however, that whilst the latter title conferred only the honour of a munificent patronage, the Xystarches exercised a certain professional superintendence in the affairs of the gymnasium. The gymnasiarchia, being one of the municipal *liturgiæ*, was commonly held for a limited period (n. 6, but v. Boeckh, 2777), and sometimes also by women (inscription from Mylasa, p. 68). The dignity of Xystarches, as we see from the inscriptions, was conferred by the Emperors on men who had distinguished themselves in the athletic profession, and was held for life. Among the honours which Menander earned for himself and his native city, whose name, as we may conclude from Pindar's beautiful odes, was as much glorified by the proclamation as the winner's own, the most distinguished was, to

be crowned by the hands of Antoninus. This is the Emperor L. Antoninus Pius; the two Emperors, to whom the Council of Aphrodisias sent their decrees on behalf of Menander, are his two adopted sons and successors, M. Aurelius Antoninus Philosophus and L. Ælius Verus, who reigned jointly from 161 to 170 of our æra. Antoninus Pius having, whilst Emperor, never set foot out of Italy, the glory of Menander, or he in search of it, must have gone far beyond his native land.

In the two lines before which the translation breaks off, we may distinctly read the following words:—"διεπραξατο αχθηναι . . . . . αγωνα (or αιωνα) παρα τοις Αντιοχευσιν . . . . . ὡς αειν ἡμας οικοθεν παρ' αυτου . . . . . ." showing that Menander, although his avocations called him to Antiocheia, did not care the less for his native city. For this the citizens of Aphrodisias felt the more grateful, as Menander, probably in consequence of the honours he won and afterwards distributed at the gymnastic festivals, enjoyed the rights of citizen and the rank of a Councilman in several other cities of the greatest celebrity in Asia Minor. From Thera, built on a small island near Crete, sprung the famous city of Cyrene in Africa. We find in another inscription (Boeckh, 2761) a city of Apollonia take part in the gymnastic festivals at Aphrodisias; but, lying in Caria, it is neither of the Apollonias mentioned in our inscription. Apollonia, says Stephanus Byzantinus, is a small island near Lycia; and there are coins with the inscription ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑ ΛΥ (Eckhel, iii. 2), and likewise of Απολλωνια Π[οντου], which was inhabited by Thracians (Eckhel, ii. 24). There were in Asia, to judge from the coins, five cities bearing the name of Antiocheia, three called Claudiopolis, and as many called Cæsarea. It is doubtful, however, whether the name of Cæsarea is to be included in our list; or the words Αντιοχεων Καισαρεων Κολωνων are to be taken jointly for the city of Antiocheia; its full name being Colonia Cæsarea Antiochiæ (vide Boeckh, 1586).

The name of Apollonius, borne by Menander's father, is found on several monuments, and on the coins of Aphrodisias.

An Apollonius of Aphrodisias is also mentioned by Stephanus Byzantinus (s. v. χρυσαορις) as the author of a work on Caria.

No. 22.

ΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΑΝΤ
ΚΑΙΜΕΓΙΣΤΑΙΣΤ
ΑΙΛΙΟΝΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝ
ΑΘΛΗΣΑΝΤΑΕΝΔΟΞΩΣ
ΣΤΟΝΕΙΚΗΝΠΑΝΚΡΑ
ΔΟΞΟΝΞΥΣΤΑΡΧΗΝΙ
ΤΟΥΚΑΙΕΝΔΟΞΟΥΠΡΩ
ΝΟΝΤΩΝΑΠΑΙΩΝΟΣ·ΑΓ
ΝΟΝ·ΤΡΙ·Ε·ΤΙ·ΑΤΑΣΤΡΕΙΣΚΡΙΣ
Α·ΓΕΝΕΙΟΝ·ΑΝΔΡΑΚΑΙΝΕΙΚ
ΙΕΡΟΥΣΚΑΙΤΑΛΑΝΤΙΑΙΟΥ
ΤΟΥΣΑΛΛΟΥΣΑΓΩΝΑΣ
ΝΕΑΝΠΟΛΙΝΣΕΒΑΣΤΑΠΑΙΔΩΝΚΛΑ
ΔΙ·Α·ΝΩΝΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΙΝ·ΝΕΜΕΙΑΠΑΙΔΩΝ
ΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΙΝΙΣΘΜΙΑΛΓΕΝΕΙΟΝΠΑΝΚΡΑ
ΤΙΝ·ΕΦΕΣΟΝΒΑΛΒΙΛΛΗΑΑ ΝΕΙΩΝ
ΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΙΝΙΕΡΑΝΠΕΡΓΑΜΟΝΚΟΙΝΟΝ
Α·ΣΙΑΣΑΝΔΡΩΝΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΙΝΕΦΕΣΟΝ
ΒΑΛΒΙΛΛΗΑ ΣΜΥ
ΝΑΝΚΟΙΝΟΝΑΣΙΑΣΑΝΔΡΩΝΠ
ΕΒΔΟΜ ΠΑΝΑΘΗΝΑΙΑΙΠΑ
ΑΝΔΡΩΝΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΙΝΠΡΩΤΟΝ
ΣΙΕΩΝ·ΝΕΜΕΙΑΑΝΔΡΩΝΠ
ΚΑΙΤΑΕΞΗΣΝΕΜΕΙΑΑΝΔΡΩΝΠΑΝ
ΤΙΝΙΕΡΑΝ·ΟΛΥΜΠΕΙΑ·ΕΝΑ·ΘΗΝΑΙΣΑ
ΔΡΩΝΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΙΝΠΡΩΤΟΝΑΦΡΟΔΙ
ΕΩΝ·ΠΥΘΙΑΑΝΔΡΩΝΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΙΝ
ΡΩΜΗΝΚΑΠΕΤΩΛΕΙΑ·ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑΑΝΔ
ΩΝΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΙΝΠΡΩΤΟΝΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΣ
ΙΕ Ν

Taken with impress paper from the stone. The points between the letters, although in several instances without importance, are all seen in the impression.

The inscription may in the following way be restored.

[Ἡ βουλη και ὁ δημος και ἡ γερουσια]
ετειμησαν τ[αις καλλισταις]
και μεγισταις τ[ειμαις . . . . .]
Λιλιον Λυρηλιον . . . . .
5 αθλησαντα ενδοξως . . . [πλει]
στονεικην, παυκρα[τιαστην παρα]
δοξον, ξυσταρχην . . . . .
του και ενδοξου, πρω[τον και μο]
νον των απ' αιωνος αγ[ωνων, ανελομε]
10 νον τριετια τας τρεις Κρισ[που θεμιδας]
αγενειον, ανδρα και νεικ[ησαντα]
ἱερους και ταλαντιαιου[ς και πλεισ]
τους αλλους αγωνας.
Νεαν πολιν, Σεβαστα, παιδων Κλα[υ]
15 διαυων παυκρατιν· Νεμεια, παιδων
παυκρατιν· Ισθμια, αγενειον παυκρα
τιν· Εφεσον, Βαλβιλληα, α[γε]νειων
παυκρατιν ἱεραν· Περγαμον, κοινον
Ασιας, ανδρων παυκρατιν· Εφεσον,
20 Βαλβιλληα, [ανδρων παυκρατιν]· Σμυ[ρ]
ναν, κοινον Ασιας, ανδρων π[αυκρατιν]·
ἑβδομ[α] Παναθηναια, ...
ανδρων παυκρατιν, πρωτον [Αφροδει]
σιεων· Νεμεια, ανδρων παυ[κρατιν]
25 και τα ἑξης Νεμεια ανδρων παυ[κρα]
τιν ἱεραν· Ολυμπεια εν Αθηναις α[ν]
δρων παυκρατιν, πρωτον Αφροδει[σι]
εων· Πυθια, ανδρων παυκρατιν·
Ρωμην, Καπετωλεια· Ολυμπια, ανδ[ρ]
30 ων παυκρατιν, πρωτον Αφροδεισ[ι]
ε [ω] ν.

"[The Senate and the People and the Gerusia?] honoured with the [fairest] and greatest honours Ælius Aurelius .... who was a glorious Athlete, a victor in many games, an extraordinary Pancratiastes, Xystarches of ..... and who won sacred games, and games in which the prize was a talent, and a great many other games.

"At Neapolis in the Augustean games, the pancration of Claudian boys; in the Nemean games, the pancration of the boys; in the Isthmian, the young man's pancration; at Ephesus in the Balbillean games, the sacred pancration of the young men; at Pergamus in the [games celebrated by] the corporation of Asia, the pancration of the men; at Ephesus in the Balbillean games, the pancration of the men [?]; at Smyrna [in the games celebrated by the] corporation of Asia, the pancration of the men; seventhly, in the Panathenæans ..... the pancration of the men, being the first of the citizens of Aphrodisias; in the Nemean games, the pancration of the men, and in the Nemean immediately following, the sacred pancration of the men; in the Olympian games at Athens, the pancration of the men, being the first of the citizens of Aphrodisias; in the Pythian, the pancration of the men; at Rome, in the Capitolian games; in the Olympian, the pancration of the men, being the first of the citizens of Aphrodisias."

Inscriptions in which athletes or musicians enumerate their victories, written on the bases of the statues that were erected either by their fellow-citizens or themselves, are not unfrequent. (Gruter, 314, 1; Murator, 647, 1; Boeckh, 247, 1585, 1720, 2810, 2811.) Most of them are of later date than the middle of the second century of our æra. From this epoch the public games and festivals constantly appear on the coins of the Roman empire (Eckhel D. N. IV. p. 430); the general passion for them, and the patronage which they enjoyed from the Emperors, increasing exactly in the same ratio as the remnant of public spirit and prosperity were decreasing.

The supplements inserted in our inscription are taken from those quoted above. In line 6, the name of the games or place, of which Aurelius was a Xystarches, has disappeared. In line 8, we should rather expect *αγωνιστων* than *αγωνων*, but the former word, besides being too long for the space left by the breaking of the stone, is scarcely ever used in inscriptions of this kind; and ours, as we shall see, is not quite correct grammatically. In line 9, I take Κρις for Κρισπος, who is mentioned as Asiarches (Boeckh, n. 2912). The word *θεμιδας*, which I should prefer to *νικας*, we find in an inscription at Xanthus, given on page 168. We might suppose that, like the person named there, Crispus had left a legacy from which prizes were to be given; it seems more likely, however, that the three prizes which Aurelius in three succeeding years obtained from Crispus, were won at the games enumerated in lines 16–19 or 20. Ephesus and Pergamus, as well as Smyrna, were all cities of the Roman province Asia, at the games of which the Asiarches presided.

Line 11. There are, says Jul. Pollux, III. 30, two kinds of games: the *αγωνες ἱεροι*, called *στεφανιται*, because the prize given was a crown; and the *αγωνες θεματικοι*, called *αργυριται*, from the pecuniary rewards distributed in them. Of the latter, the *ταλαντιαιοι*, *ἡμιταλαντιαιοι* etc. were species.

Line 13. The Sebasta, celebrated at Neapolis (the city still bearing that name), in Campania, are often mentioned. It is not certain, since all the Emperors had the name of Augustus, in whose honour they were instituted; nor can we tell what connexion the *παιδες Κλαυδιανοι*, mentioned in our inscription only, had with Claudius, or an institution bearing his name.

There can be no doubt that the Nemean games (lines 14 and 23), the Isthmian (line 15), the Pythian (line 27), and the Olympian (line 28), in which Aurelius successfully contested with the boys, the young men (*αγενειοι*, originally "beardless," *vide* Pausan. vi. 14, 1; Boeckh, n. 232, 246), and the men, are those

which are known to us from the classic authors. It has been proved, indeed, that games bearing these celebrated names were also performed at other cities, a fact to which our inscription also bears testimony in line 25, where the Olympian games at Athens are mentioned, but no localities are named in the above instances.

The Balbillean games (line 16, 19), celebrated at the joyous Ephesus, are called Barbillean in another inscription (Boeckh, 2810). That the letters *l* and *r* are frequently interchanged, is adverted to in other parts of this work: the Latin lilium, from λειριον; the English purple, from purpura; the modern Greek αλετρι, from αροτρον; the Italian albero and albergo, from arbor and herberge, show the generality of the fact.

The letters Ι Π Α behind Παναθηναια (line 21), which I must leave unexplained, appear distinctly on the impression. It is curious, that Aurelius mentions the number of his preceding victories only in this instance.

Aurelius won in the Capitolia at Rome (line 28), which is distinctly mentioned; games of this name being also celebrated at Aphrodisias (Boeckh, 2801; Eckhel, ii. 575). At Rome they were instituted by Furius Camillus, in memory of the deliverance of the capitol from the Gauls; they were splendidly renewed by Domitianus. Not only the names of the festivals, but also those of the localities in which they were celebrated, are constantly in our inscription, and in similar ones put into the accusative. The word πανκρατιν appears so distinctly, that although it be not found anywhere else, we must add πανκρατις or παγκρατις to our vocabularies; it is originally adjective, and in the same way used as a substantive feminine, as is πυκτικη.

No. 23.—Page 39.—In the south wall.

No. 24.—In the south wall.

ΟΩΚΑΑΝΕΛΛΙΠΩΣΠΛΕΙΣΤΑΠΑΡΕΣΧΗ
ΕΝΟΝΕΗΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΦΕΡΕΙΝΑΝΘΡΩΠΙΝΩΣ
ΤΗΝΣΥΝΒΕΒΗΚΥΙΑΝΣΥΝΦΟΡΑΝΕΣΡΠΩ
ΤΕΚΝΩΑΥΤΟΥΔΕΔΟΧΘΑΙΤΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙ
ΤΩΔΗΜΩΤΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΘΑΙΜΕΝΖΗΝΑΝΑ
ΚΑΛΛΙΟΥΤΟΥΖΗΝΩΝΟΣΤΟΥΕΥΔΑΜΟΥ
ΚΑΙΜΕΤΗΛΛΑΚΧΟΤΑΑΝΑΤΕΘΗΝΑΙΔΕ
ΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΑΣΚΑΙΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΑ
ΚΑΙΕΙΚΟΝΑΣΕΝΙΕΡΟΙΣΗΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΙΣΤΟ
ΠΟΙΣΥΠΟΚΑΛΛΙΟΥΤΟΥΠΑΤΡΟΣΑΥΤΟΥ
ΠΑΡΜΕΜΥΘΗΣΘΑΙΔΕΚΑΙΑΠΦΙΑΝΕΥ
ΔΑΜΟΥΤΟΥΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΥΤΗΝΜΗ
ΤΕΡΑΤΟΥΖΗΝΩΝΟΣ

"[When it was reported that Callias, who was a good and honourable man?] and had unceasingly done great service to his native city, bore humanely the accident that had befallen . . . . . his child, it was decreed by the Council and the People, that Zeno, son of Callias, the son of Zeno, the son of Eudamus, be honoured even after he departed, and that there be put up his statues, and sculptures, and images in the temples and public places by Callias his father; and that there be also consoled Appia, daughter of Eudamus, the son of Metrodorus, the mother of Zeno."

The word *μετηλλαχοτα* appears so distinctly in this and other inscriptions copied at Aphrodisias, that we must acknowledge it to be a dialectic form instead of the common *μετηλλαχοτα*. It may be added then to the two words given in Greek grammars as having doubled aspiratæ (the first being naturally changed into the tenuis), the Pindaric *οκχος*=*οχος*, and the Hesiodic *σκυπφος*=*σκυφος*; *Ιαχχος* may in the same way be derived from *ιαχω*.

No 25.

ΚΑΙΜΕΠ[illegible]ΙΩΣΟΑΤ
ΚΑΛΛΙΑΝΙ[illegible]ΗΝΩΝΟΣΤΟΥ
ΕΥΔΑΜΟΥΝΕΑΝΙΑΝΚΑΛΟΝΚΑΙΑΓΑΘΟΝ
ΤΗΝΑΝΑΣΤΡΟΦΗΝΠΕΠΟΙΗΜΕΝΟΝΕΝΑΡΕΤΟΝ
ΚΑΙΠΑΝΤΟΣΕΠΑΙΝΟΥΑΞΙΑΝΤΑΙΣΚΑΛΛΙΣ
ΤΑΙΣΚΑΙΜΕΓΙΣΤΑΙΣΤΕΙΜΑΙΣΑΝΑΤΕΘΗΝΑΙ
ΔΕΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΑΣΚΑΙΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΑ
ΚΑΙΕΙΚΟΝΑΣΓΡΑΠΤΑΣΕΝΟΠΛΟΙΣΕΠΙΧΡΥ
ΣΟΙΣΕΝΙΕΡΟΙΣΚΑΙΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΙΣΤΟΠΟΙΣΕΦΩΝ
ΚΑΙΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΗΝΑΙΤΑΣΛΟΑΣΚΑΙΠΡΕΠΟΥ
ΣΑΣΚΑΙΑΝΑΛΟΓΟΥΣΑΣΤΩΓΕΝΕΙΚΑΙΤΗΠΕΡ[illegible]
ΤΟΝΒΙΟΝΑΥΤΟΥΑΝΑΣΤΡΟΦΗΤΕΙΜΑΣΕΠΙ
ΓΡΑΦΗΝΑΙΔΕΚΑΙΕΠΙΤΟΥΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΥΕΝΩΤΕ
ΘΑΠΤΑΙΚΑΙΖΗΝΩΝΟΑΔΕΛΦΟΣΑΥΤΟΥ
ΤΑΣΑΞΙΑΣΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΑΣΑΥΤΟΥΠΑΡΑΜΕΜΥΘΗΣ
ΘΑΙΔΕΚΑΛΛΙΑΝΖΗΝΩΝΟΣΤΟΥΕΥΔΑΜΟΥ
ΚΑΙΑΠΦΙΑΝΕΥΔΑΜΟΥΤΟΥΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΥ

No. 26.

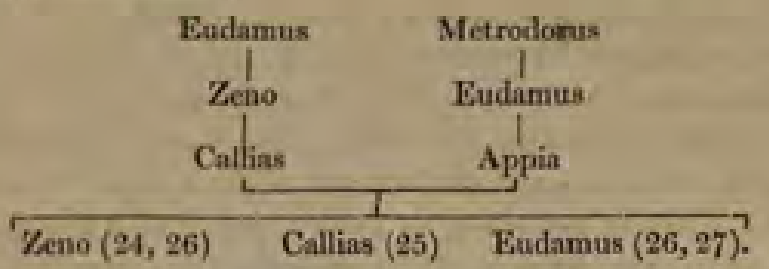
(Continuation of the foregoing.)

ΤΟΥΣΓΟΝΕΙΣΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΕΥΔΑΜΟΝΚΑΛΛΙ
ΟΥΤΟΥΖΗΝΩΝΟΣΤΟΝΑΔΕΛΦΟΝΑΥΤΟΥ
ΦΕΡΕΙΝΑΝΘΡΩΠΙΝΩΣΤΟΣΥΝΒΕΒΗΚΟΣ
ΑΤΥΧΗΜΑ

". . . . . that Callias [twice, i. e. grandson] of Zeno, the son of Eudamus, an honourable and good youth, whose conduct was virtuous and worthy of all praise, [be honoured] with the greatest and fairest honours, and that there be put up his statues and sculptures and images painted on gold-grounded shields in the

temples and public places, whereon there are also to be inscribed his honours, fair and beseeming and becoming his family and the conduct of his life; and that these worthy inscriptions be likewise inscribed on his tomb, in which his brother Zeno also is buried; and that there be consoled Callias, son of Zeno, the son of Eudamus, and Appia daughter of Eudamus, the son of Metrodorus, (26) his parents; and Eudamus, son of Callias, the son of Zeno, his brother, that they may bear humanely the misfortune which has befallen them."

The inscriptions 24 to 27 relate to the same family, whose lineage stands thus:



The four letters ΛΟΛΣ, in the tenth line, stand either for ΚΛΛΑΣ or for ΑΓΑΘΑΣ, the stone-cutter or the copyist having left out the two first letters, because they are so similar to the two last of the preceding ΤΑΣ.

It is not easy exactly to define the works of art which the Town-Council of Aphrodisias caused "to be put up." The εικονες γραπτας especially have given rise to many discussions among the first philologists of the continent, proceeding from an inscription first published by Maittaire in the Appendix of the Marmora Oxoniensia, and afterwards commented on in the Mus. Crit. Cantab., tom. vii. p. 477; vide Raoul Rochette, Journal des Sav., June 1833, Boeckh, n. 3068, Osann Sylloge, p. 244, 576. Generally speaking, both ανδριας and αγαλμα may be translated by "statue," and εικων signifies any graphic representation, full size or small, sculptured or painted. Our inscription, however, and several others, show, that in Asia Minor especially, these general terms had, by common parlance, each

a particular meaning. In another inscription of Aphrodisias, being of the same kind as ours, Boeckh, n. 2771, thinks *ανδριαντας* to be statues of the man himself, and *αγαλματα* statues of gods to be erected on his behalf. This is scarcely applicable to our inscriptions, in which *αυτου* constantly precedes the three words; *αγαλματα* in n. 25, standing between *ανδριαντων* and *εικονας γραπτας*, which both undoubtedly mean representations of the man himself. Both *αγαλματα* and *ανδριαντων* being sculptures; we are allowed to take, as Boeckh does in a similar inscription (3068 A, 3067), the former for statues, and *ανδριαντες* for busts standing on Hermæ, a kind of monument by no means uncommon, as the British Museum shows; or we may leave to *ανδριαντες* its common meaning, and by *αγαλματα*, as Pausanias does in several places, (Siebelis Præf. ad Pausan. vol. i. p. xlii.) understand bas-reliefs. By *εικων* on the monuments of Asia Minor and of Cumæ, is meant a bust; by *εικων γραπτη* a picture extending no further than does a bust (*protome*, or as now painters call it, *kit-cat*). *Εικων γραπτη εν οπλοις, επιχρυσοις*, or *εικων γραπτη ενοπλος*, is a portrait painted on a shield, i. e. a circular or oval piece of wood, on gold ground, as were the earliest pictures of Christian art. It is true that the ancients had also medallion-portraits sculptured on marble, or metal shields, of which many are yet to be seen in museums; but the Greek term for these works of art would rather be *εικων γλυπτη, αναγλυφος επειργασμενη*, or such like; *γραπτη* meaning "painted." Some thought *εικων γραπτη* to be a painted statue. Thence, according to our inscriptions, the public places of Aphrodisias would have been decorated with statues painted in (perhaps real) gilt armour. We should prefer, however, the above explanation, being more consistent with that of other inscriptions, and also with a passage in Macrob., Sat. ii. 3, which describes a portrait of Cicero's brother, painted and preserved in his former province, Asia, as "clypeata imago (viz. *εικων ενοπλος*) ingentibus lineamentis usque ad pectus *ex more picta*."

No. 27.

ΔΔΔΔΧΟΤΑΔΕΔΟΧΘΑΙΙΙ'υΟ''ΙΟΡΑ
ΤΩΔΙΧΩΤΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΘΑΙΚΑΙΜΕΤΗΛΛΑΚ
ΧΟΤΑΕΥΔΑΜΟΝΚΑΛΛΙΟΥΤΟΥΖΗΝΩ
ΝΟΣΤΟΥΕΥΔΑΜΟΥΝΕΑΝΙΑΝΚΑΛΟΝ
ΚΑΙΑΓΑΘΟΝΖΗΣΑΝΤΑΚΟΣΜΙΩΣΚΑΙΣΩ
ΦΡΟΝΩΣΚΑΙΠΡΟΣΥΠΟΔΕΙΓΜΑΑΡΕΤΗΣ
ΤΑΙΣΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΑΙΣΚΑΙΜΕΓΙΣΤΑΙΣΚΑΙΑΞΙ
ΑΙΣΤΕΙΜΑΙΣΑΝΑΤΕΘΗΝΑΙΔΕΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙ
ΕΙΚΟΝΑΣΓΡΑΠΤΑΣΕΝΟΠΛΟΙΣΕΠΙΧΡΥ
ΣΟΙΣΚΑΙΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΑΣΚΑΙΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΑ
ΕΝΙΕΡΟΙΣΚΑΙΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΙΣΤΟΠΟΙΣΕ
ΦΩΝΚΑΙ ΙΔΔΓΡΑΦΗΝΑΙΤΑΣΑΞΙΑΣΚΑΙΑ
ΝΑΛΟΓΟΥΣΑΣΤΩΓΕΝΕΙΑΥΤΟΥΤΕΙΜΑΣ
ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΗΝΑΙΔΕΑΥΤΟΥΤΑΣΤΕΙΜΑΣ
ΚΑΙΕΠΙΤΟΥΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΥΕΝΩΚΕΚΗΔΕΥ
ΤΑΔΔΔΜΕΜΥΘΗΣΘΑΙΔΕΚΑΛΛΙΑΝΖΗ
ΝΩΔΔΔΤΟΥΕΥΔΜΟΥΚΑΙΑΠΦΙΑΝΕΥΔΑ
ΜΟΔΔΔΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΥΤΟΥΣΓΟΝΕΙΣΑΥ
ΤΟΥΔΔΔΔΔΡΩΠΙΝΩΣΤΑΣΣΥΜΒΕΒΗ
ΚΥΔΔΔΔΔΔΜΦΟΡΑΣΕΠΙΤΟΙΣΤΕ
ΛΝΔΔΔΔΔΤΟΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΕΠΙΔΕ
ΔΟΔΔΔΔΔΔΑΜΕΝΟΥΗΗΤΡ

". . . . . it was decreed by . . . . . and the People, that there be honoured even after he departed, Eudamus son of Callias, the son of Zeno, the son of Eudamus, an honourable and good youth, who lived decently and wisely, and like a pattern of virtue, with the greatest, fairest and worthy honours, and that there be put up his images, painted on gold-grounded shields, and statues and sculptures in the temples and public places, whereon there are to be inscribed the honours worthy and befitting his family; and that there be inscribed his honours also

on the monument in which he is buried; and that there be consoled Callias, son of Zeno, the son of Eudamus and Appia, daughter of Eudamus, the son of Metrodorus, his parents ..... to bear humanely the accidents that have befallen them. The decree ....."

Thus Callias and Appia lost their last son, who had in life been virtuous, like his brothers, and been equally honoured in death. To his parents the same request is made, which he had heard twice before, to bear their misfortunes humanely. What Greek genius meant by this, its first-born, Homer, has put before us in the finishing canto of the Iliad.

No. 28.—In the west wall.

ΙΟΥΙΟΙΙΥΝΙΟΥΙΟ▲▲▲ΖΙΟ
ΗΘΕΙΚΑΙΣΕΜΝΟΤΗΤΙΒΙΟΥΥΠΕ
ΤΕΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΚΕΝΠΡΟΣΗΚΕΙΔ
ΛΕΥΤΗΚΟΤΩΝΠΑΡΑΜΥΘΕΙΣΘΑ
ΦΙΛΤΑΤΩΝΑΠΟΒΟΛΗΣΔΙΑΤΑΥ
ΘΑΙΜΕΝΚΑΙΜΕΤΗΛΛΑΚΧΟΤΑΤΑ
ΚΕΛΑΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΥΣΤΟΥΖΗΝΩ
ΘΗΣΑΣΘΑΙΔΕΤΟΝΠΑΤΕΡΑΑΥΤ
ΤΗΣΤΥΧΗΣΣΥΝΦΟΡΑΙΣΤΑΙΣΤΕ
ΓΟΝΕΥΣΝΠΡΟΔΟΡΟΥΤΟΥΤΟ
ΜΙΟΥΔΙΟΣΠΥΡΡΟΥΓΠΑΜΜ▲

This inscription forms one half of an honorary decree similar to the foregoing, but without mentioning statues and images. Boeckh, n. 2776, reads thus:

τουτου . . . . . .
ηθει και σεμνοτητι βιου υπε[ρβεβληκως]
τετελευτηκεν προσηκει δε

· · [τετέ]λευτηκοτων παραμυθεισθαι · · · · · ·
· · · · · · · φιλτατον απο βο[υ]λης· δια ταυ[τα]
[τετειμησ]θαι μεν και μετηλλαχχοτα τα[ις]
· · · · · · · · · κλεα Αριστοκλεους του Ζηνωνος
[παραμυ]θησασθαι δε τον πατερα αυτ[ου]
· · · · · · · · · της τυχης συμφοραις ταις τε
· · · · · · · · · Γονευς Μητροδωρου του Γα[νεως]
· · · · · · · · · Μιθυλιος Πυρρου γραμμα[τευς].

In the first five lines we have the customary preamble of a decree, stating its motives, which in the present case may have been stated by the secretary Mithylios, the son of Pyrrhus. Another inscription written on the same stone, and relating to the family of Aristocles, son of Aristocles, the person honoured by this decree, will be given under No. 52.

No. 29.—On a pedestal at the east gate.

ΗΠΑΤΡΙΣ
ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΝ
ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΝ
ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ
ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥ
ΚΑΠΙΤΩΛΙ
ΝΟΥ[illegible]ΥΟΝ
ΚΤΗΣΙΑΝ
ΤΟΝΡΗΤΟ

"The city [honours, probably by erecting a statue,] Tiberius Aurelius Ctesias, the Rhetor, son of Tiberius Claudius Capitolinus."

No. 30.—Near the east gate.

ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΕΝ
ΚΑΙΜΕΤΗΛΛΑΧΧΟΤΑΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΝ
ΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΥΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΝΖΗΣΑΝ
ΤΑΚΟΣΜΙΩΣΑΝΔΡΑΠΕΡΙΤΑΚΟΙΝΑΤΗΣ
ΠΟΛΕΩΣΦΙΛΟΤΕΙΜΟΝΕΝΤΕΑΡΧΑΙΣ
ΚΑΙΥΠΟΣΧΕΣΕΣΙΝΚΑΙΕΡΓΕΠΙΣΤΑΣΙΑΙΣ
ΚΑΙΤΑΙΣΑΛΟΙΠΑΙΣΕΙΣΤΗΝΠΑΤΡΙΔΑ
ΥΠΗΡΕΣΙΑΙΣΠΡΟΘΥΜΟΝΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ

"The Council and People honoured, even after he departed, Metrodorus Demetrius, son of Metrodorus, living decently, a man of honourable ambition in public affairs, and showing zeal in offices, and promises, and the superintending of works, and other services to the commonwealth."

ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΝ appearing distinctly in both Sherard's transcript (Boeckh, 2779) and ours, we must take it as a second name of Metrodorus, instead of reading ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ, and making Demetrius the grandfather of the younger Metrodorus. The form *μετηλλαχχοτα* is very remarkable. See No. 24.

No. 31.—At the east gate.

ΑΙΜΕΤΙΛ ΚΙΙ
ΤΑΙΣΑΞΙΑΙΣΚΑΙΠΡΕΠΟΥ
ΣΑΙΣΤΕΙΜΑΙΣΝΕΑΙΡΑΝΜΕ
ΝΕΚΛΕΟΥΣΑΜΜΙΑΝΓΥΝΑΙ
ΚΑΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗΝΜΗΤΡΟΔΩ
ΡΟΥΤΟΥΜΗΤΡΟΔΩΡΟΥΔΗΜΗ
ΤΡΙΟΥΖΗΣΑΣΑΝΚΟΣΜΙΩΣ
ΚΑΙΣΩΦΡΟΝΩΣ

". . . . . decreed to honour, even after her death [?] with worthy and becoming honours, Neæra Ammias, daughter of Menecles, who had been the wife of Metrodorus Demetrius, son of Metrodorus, and lived decently and soberly."

No. 32.—In the east wall.

ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟϹΚΑΙ
ΗΓΕΡΟΥϹΙΑΚΑΙΟΙΝΕΟΙ
ΕΤΕΙΜΗϹΑΝΑΤΤΑΛΟΝ
ΜΑΚΕΔΟΝΟϹΤΟΥΑΡΙϹΤΕ
ΟΥΤΟΥΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ
ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΔΟΥΔΙΑΤΕ
ΤΗΝΙΔΙΑΝΑΡΕΤΗΝΚΑΙ
ΤΗΝΤΩΝΠΡΟΓΟΝΩΝΔΙΑ
ΤΕΦΙΛΟΔΟΞΙΩΝΚΑΙΑΝΑ
ΘΗΜΑΤΩΝΠΡΟϹΤΟΝΔΗ
ΜΟΝΕΥΝΟΙΑΝ

"The Council and the People and the Elders [Gerusia] and the young men honoured Attalus, son of Macedo, the son of Aristeas, the son of Alexander Apollonides, both for his own virtue and that of his ancestors, and for his benevolence to the People, [manifested in] love of fame and splendid offerings."

The *Βουλη*, *Δημος*, *Γερουσια* and *Νεοι*, although these bodies were not co-ordinate in political importance (see No. 2.), sometimes made decrees in common, which were then called those of the *Συναρχια*, or of the *Κοινοβουλιον* (Eckhel, D. N. II. p. 575). Perhaps the decree in honour of Attalus originated with the young men, among whom he distinguished himself, and who especially owed him gratitude for his splendid offerings; it was then referred to the examination of the Gerusia, a kind of court of honour, and finally sanctioned by the highest municipal authorities.

Aristeas (as Boeckh remarks, 2775) and Papias are the names of distinguished sculptors, both natives of Aphrodisias, mentioned in a Greek inscription at Rome. Still more distinguished is another name read on our monument, Alexander Aphrodisiensis, being one of the best interpreters of Aristotle. Instead of ΦΙΛΟΔΟΞΙΩΝ, Boeckh, 2781, would propose to read ΦΙΛΟΔΟΣΙΩΝ, *i.e.* liberality; but the former word appears quite distinct in our transcript, as it does in Sherard's.

No. 33.—In the east wall.

ΕΤΗΔΑΝΤΑΠΗΑΛΔ
ΤΑΙΣΤΕΙΜΑΙΣΔΙΟΝΔ
ΣΙΟΝΑΡΤΕΜΙΔΩΡΟΔ
ΤΟΥΜΕΝΙΠΠΟΥΤΟΔ
ΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥΤΟΥΔΗ
ΜΗΤΡΙΟΥΖΗΣΑΝΤΑ
ΚΟΣΜΙΩΣΚΑΙΠΡΟΣ
ΥΠΟΔΕΙΓΜΑΑΡΕΤΗΣ

"....honoured with the fairest [?] honours Dionysius, son of Artemidorus, the son of Menippus, the son of Dionysius, the son of Demetrius, living decently and as a pattern of virtue."

The name of Menippus appears on the coins of Aphrodisias.

No. 34.—In the east wall.

ΟΔΑΥΙΟΣ
ΜΥΟΝΑΑΓΕΛΛΟΥ
ΦΥΣΕΙΔΕΕΥΣΕΒΟΥΣ
ΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΝ

"The People [honoured] Myo Menander, the son of Agelaus, but by birth the son of Eusebes."

Sherard's transcript, from which Boeckh, 2772, printed the inscription, has in the first line ΟΔΗΜΟΣ; to judge from our transcript, it was rather ΟΔΑΜΟΣ. The inscriptions of Aphrodisias give no other instance of this Doric form. The fact of Myo having two names, may be explained by his being adopted into another family.

No. 35.—In the west wall.

ΗΒΟΥΛΗΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΕΝ
ΣΩΚΡΑΤΗΝΘΕΟΦΡΑΣΤΟΥΑΝΔΡΑ
ΕΣΜ◢◢ΜΟΝΚΑΛΟΝΚΑΙΑΓΑΘ◢

"The Senate and the People honoured Socrates, the son of Theophrastus, who had been an honourable and good man."

The translation takes the word at the beginning of the last line for ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ.

No. 36.—In the south-east wall.

ΝΟΔΗ ΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟ◢
ΕΙΜΗ ΕΤΕΙΜΗΣΕΝΓΕΙΝΑΤ
ΙΗΡΑΙ ΤΑΛΟΥΓΥΝΑΙΚΑ
ΗΡΑΡΥ

The inscription at the right is published by Boeckh, 2820ᵇ, as a sequel to a larger decree, also "made by the Council and People in honour of the wife of Attalus," a priestess of Here. The last line of our inscription, Prof. Boeckh explains by *καὶ ἐφ' Ἡραίου*, signifying that a statue of the priestess was also placed in the Heræum, *i. e.* the temple of Juno. The name of the priestess Boeckh, partly from another inscription, supposes

to have been Caja. The letters ΓΕΙΝ, from which this is to be inferred, are in Sherard's transcript the same as in ours. The little column on the left is part of another inscription, which may have had contents similar to those of the inscription on the right.

No. 37.—In the east wall.

ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΝΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΝ
ΛΙΚΙΟΥΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΥ
ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥΔΟΜΕΤΕΙ
ΝΟΥΔΙΟΓΕΝΟΥΣΑΣ
ΙΣΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣΚΑΙ
ΝΟΜΟΘΕΤΟΥΥΙΟΝ
ΑΤΤΑΛΟΝΣΥΝΚΛΗ
ΤΙΚΟΝΤΟΝΕΥΕΡΓΕ
ΤΗΝΤΗΣΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣ

"Tiberius Claudius Attalus, son of Lucius Antonius Claudius Dometinus [?] Diogenes, the High-priest of Asia and Nomothetes, a Senator, the benefactor of his native city."

The name of Dometinus, or rather Domitinus, although derived in the same way from Domitius, as Antoninus is from Antonius, is by far less used than Domitianus. [Δομε]τεινον, however, appears in another inscription (Boeckh, 2777), relating to the same Diogenes, the High-priest of Asia and Nomothetes. The office of High-priest of Asia, perhaps identical with that of Asiarcha (Eckhel, iv. p. 205), was among the highest distinctions conferred on natives of Asia Minor. It was intimately connected with the great games celebrated in the principal cities of the province by the Κοινον Ασιας, and was attended with considerable expense (*vide* our No. 20.); whence Strabo, in proof of the opulence of Tralles, appeals to the fact, that three of its

families had the office of High-priests of Asia conferred on them nearly hereditarily. The office, although the title seems by courtesy to have been continued through life, was not perpetual. The title of Nomothetes, implying legislatorial functions, is not common on the coins and monuments of Asia Minor.

No. 38.—In the east wall, upon a pedestal.

ΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΝ
ΑΝΤΩΝΙΑΝ
ΤΑΤΙΑΝΗΝ
ΤΗΝΚΡΑΤΙΣ
ΤΗΝΑΝΕΨΙ
ΑΝΚΛΑΥΔΙ
ΟΥΔΙΟΓΕ
ΝΟΥΣΚΑΙΑΤ
ΤΑΛΟΥΣΥΝ
ΚΛΗΤΙΚΟΝ
ΤΗΝΕΝΠΑ
ΣΙΝΕΚΠΡΟ
ΓΟΝΩΝΕΥ
ΕΡΓΕΤΙΝΤΗΣ
ΠΟΛΕΩΣ
ΤΗΣΑΝΑΣΤΑ
ΣΕΩΣΤΟΥΑΝ
ΔΡΙΑΝΤΟΣΕΠ
ΙΜΕΛΗΘΕΝΤΟ
ΤΙΟΚΛΟ ΚΑ
ΤΟΔΣΙΝΟ

"Claudia Antonia Tatiana, the excellent cousin of Claudius Diogenes and Attalus, the Senators [?], being a distinguished benefactress to the city, as were her ancestors.

"Ti. Cl. Attalus, the son of Diogenes [?], superintended the erection of the statue."

The three last names are restored from No. 37, which evidently relates to the same family. The translation takes the words in the tenth line for *συνκλητικων*; the adjective *συνκλητικος* being generally of three terminations, and there being no instance of the term *συνκλητικος*, which means a senator, being applied to a wife or daughter of a senator.

No. 39.—In the west wall, upon a pedestal.

ΔΙΟΓΕΝΗΝ
ΑΤΑΛΟΣ
ΤΟΝΑΔΕΛ
ΦΟΝ

"Attalus [erects a statue of] Diogenes, his brother."

Published by Boeckh, 2805, together with a corresponding inscription written by Diogenes under a statue of his brother Attalus.

No. 40.—In the west wall, upon a pedestal.

ΠΟΠΛΙΟΝΑΙ
ΛΙΟΝΙΛΑΡΙΑ
ΝΟΝΙΠΠΙΚΟΝ
ΠΟΠΛΙΟΥΑΙ
ΛΙΟΥΑΠΟΛΛΩ
ΝΙΑΝΟΥΠΡΕΙ
ΜΙΠΕΙΛΑΡΙΟΥ
ΥΙΟΝΠΟΠΛΙ

ΟΥΛΙΛΙΟΥ
ΙΛΑΡΙΑΝΟΥΥ
ΠΑΤΙΚΟΥΕΚ
ΓΟΝΟΝΠΟΛ
ΛΩΝΣΥΝΚΛΗ
ΤΙΚΩΝΚΑΙΥ
ΠΑΤΙΚΩΝΣΥΝ
ΓΕΝΗ
ΤΙΒΕΡΙΑΙΟΥΛΙ
ΑΛΝΤΟΝΙΑΛΗ
ΤΩΙΣΜΗΤ-ΡΟΚΑΗ
ΜΑΜΜΙΣΥΝΚΛΗ
ΤΙΚΩΝ ΤΟΝ
ΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤΟΝ
ΥΙΟΝ

"Publius Ælius Hilarianus, of equestrian rank, son of the [Centurio] Primipilarius Publius Ælius Apollonianus, grandson of the Consularis Publius Ælius Hilarianus, kinsman of many a Consularis and Senator.

"Tiberia Julia Antonia Letois, a mother and aunt of Senators, [erects this in honour of the above P. Æl. Hilarianus], her sweetest son."

Published by Boeckh, 2793.

The word after the names Antonia Letois may be taken for ΜΗΤΡΟΣ instead of ΜΗΤΗΡ, but the following, ΜΑΜΜΗ, is evidently a nominative; and the reading which the translation follows, supposing that some of Tiberia's elder sons and her nephews were Senators, seems preferable to that, which would give her mother and her aunt the rank of Senators.

The terms Συγκλητικος and Συγκλητος belong almost exclusively to the Roman Senate, Βουλευτης and Βουλη to the Municipal Councils (Eckhel, *l. c.* 190; Συγκλητος Μελιταιων, Gruter, 400, 8; Συρακοσιων, ibid, 401, 1; Τραλλιανων, Boeckh, 2926). Not one of the many Consulares in Ælius' family is

named in the lists of the Roman Consuls; but by the Emperors the title of Consularis was bestowed on the governors of the more important provinces, especially on those of Asia (Eckhel, *l. c.* 281), without their having been Consuls before.

No. 41. Page 40.—On a sarcophagus, showing the medallion-portraits of a man and a woman. See woodcut, page 39.

The words πλατας and [ε]ισωστη, as seen in the following inscription, constantly recur on monuments of this kind at Aphrodisias, but are not met with in other Greek inscriptions and authors. Of the former word there appears twice in our inscription, both after Sherard's and our transcript, the heteroclite accusative πλατον. Instead of Sherard's ΝΕΩΠΟΙΟΙ, our transcript has ΝΕΩΠΥΟΙ, another instance of υ being substituted for οι; λυπα (l. 4) instead of λοιπα appears in other inscriptions of Aphrodisias, where ανυξαι is always written instead of ανοιξαι. It has been pointed out as a peculiarity of the Æolic, especially the Bœotic (Boeckh, vol. i. p. 723) dialect, to use υ and ι instead of the diphthongs οι and ει. Of the latter change, the form ισωστη—instead of which in other inscriptions we have εισωστη, and ις, which, as we shall see, is frequently used instead of εις at Aphrodisias—is an example; whilst in a great many other words, Αφροδιτη (line 9), Αφροδισιεων, τιμη, νικη etc., the Carians substituted the diphthong where the classic Greek has ι. In line 10 both Sherard's and our transcript have ΥΠΕΥΘΙΝΟΙ instead of ΥΠΕΥΘΥΝΟΙ. In line 9 the οι after νεωποιοι has fallen out. The letters ΜΑ at the right corner of line 1 are without connection, nay, separated from the foregoing words by two points. Perhaps they served to indicate the name of the stone-cutter, or a mark made on the tomb, besides the proprietor's declaration; there is nothing similar to this in other inscriptions of this kind.

Ὁ πλατας εστιν Αδραστου, του Γλυκωνος, του Γλυκωνος του Λεοντος, του ∴ ΜΑ
Ἑκατομνονος Πολυχρονιου. Ὀντινα πλατον συνεχωρησεν αυτω Πολυχρονια Καλλικρατους,
εις ὁν πλατον κατεσκευασεν μνημειον το επικειμενον τω πλατα, σορον τε και ισωστας εν αυτω
και τα λυπα τα εν αυτω· εις ἡν σορον εθαψα Βαριλλα[ν] την εμαυτου γυναικαν βουλομαι δε και αυτος
εν τη σορω τεθηναι, ἑτερον δε μηδενα· εν τη ισωστη τη πρωτη ὑποκειμενη τη σορω ενταφηναι
βουλομαι την γυναικα μου και Πολυχρονιον τον υἱον μου, εν δε τη ἑτερα ισωστη τεθηναι βουλομαι
Τατιανον και Αδραστον, τα τεκνα μου· ἑτερον δε μηδε εν τη σορω μηδε εν ταις ισωσταις
τεθηναι. Ει δε τον ὑσπληγ[γα] οἱ κληρονομοι μου μετα το εντεθηναι με εν τη σορω μη ασφαλισωνται,
εστω μου κληρονομος ἡ θεα Αφροδειτη· τουτο δε εκδικησουσιν οἱ κατα καιρον νεωπνοι [οι] επι αυτου
εστωσαν ὑπευθ[υ]νοι. Εαν δε τις παρα τα διατεταγμενα ἑτερον τινα θαψη, εστω επαρατος και . . . . .
. . . . προσαποτεισατω τω ἱεροτατω ταμειω ✕ ε, ὡν το τριτον εστω του εκδικησαντος.

In the west wall.

No. 42.

ΗΣΟΡΟΣΚΑΙΟΒΩΜΟΣΚΑΙ
ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΘΗΣΑΝΚΑΙΕΙΣΙΝΤ
ΤΗΣΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗΣΕΚΔΟΣΕΩΣΔΙΑΙ
ΡΩΚΥΔΕΥΘΗΣΕΤΑΙΑΥΤΟΣΤΕΟΓΛΥΚΩΝΗ
ΞΗΤΑΙΕΝΔΕΤΑΙΣΕΙΣΩΣΤΑΙΣΚΗΔΕΥΘΗ
ΘΗΟΓΛΥΚΩΝΗΕΝΓΡΑΦΩΣΤΙΝΙΣΥΝΧΩΡΗ
ΟΥΔΕΙΣΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΝΕΞΕΙΕΝΘΑΨΑΙΤΙΝΑΟΥ
ΕΙΣΩΣΤΑΣΗΟΥΣΑΝΓΛΥΚΩΝΑΥΤΟΣΖΩΝ
ΕΞΕΙΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΝΕΝΘΑΨΑΙΤΙΝΑΕΤΕΡΟΣΗ
ΤΑΦΕΝΤΩΝΤΗΟΥΓΛΥΚΩΝΟΣΒΟΥΛΗΣΕ
ΔΙΕΝΤΕΥΞΕΩΣΗΓΕΜΟΝΙΚΗΣΟΥΤΕΑΛ
ΛΟΤΡΙΩΣΑΙΟΥΔΕΜΕΤΑΚΕΙΝΗΣΑΙΤΗΝ
ΧΑΣΗΣΥΝΧΩΡΗΣΑΣΑΠΟΤΕΙΣΕΙΤΩΙΕΡ
ΧΕΙΛΙΑΩΝΤΟΤΡΙΤΟΝΓΕΝΗΣΕΤΑΙΤΟ
ΤΗΣΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΗΣΑΠΕΤΕΘΗΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟ
ΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΥΤΟΤΡΙΣΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΟ
ΜΗΝΟΣΞΑΝΔ

No. 43.

ΚΑΙΤΑΡΙΑΥΤΑΠΑΝΤΑ
ΛΙΟΥΓΛΥΚΩΝΟΣΚΑΘΩΣΚΑΙΔΙΑ
ΟΦΥΛΑΚΙΟΥΔΗΛΟΥΤΑΙΕΝΗΣΟ
ΥΣΑΝΑΥΤΟΣΒΟΥΛΗΘΗΗΔΙΑΤΑ
ΟΝΤΑΙΟΥΣΑΝΕΝΘΑΨΑΙΒΟΥΛΗ
ΣΗΗΔΙΑΤΑΞΗΤΑΙΕΤΕΡΟΣΔΕ
ΤΕΕΙΣΤΗΝΣΟΡΟΝΟΥΤΕΕΙΣΤΑΣ
ΒΟΥΛΗΘΗΕΝΘΑΨΑΙΟΥΔΕΙΣΔΕ
ΕΚΘΑΨΑΙΣΩΜΑΤΕΙΟΝΤΩΝΕΝ
ΟΥΤΕΔΙΑΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΟΣΟΥΤΕ
ΩΤΡΟΠΩΟΥΔΕΝΙΟΥΔΕΑΠΑΛ
ΟΡΟΝΕΠΕΙΟΤΟΥΤΩΝΤΙΤΟΛΜΗ
ΤΑΤΩΤΑΜΕΙΩ× ΠΕΝΤΑΚΙΣ
ΕΚΔΙΚΗΣΑΝΤΟΣ ΤΑΥΤΗΣ
ΚΑΙΕΙΣΤΟΧΡΕΟΦΥΛΑΚΙΟΝΕΠΙ
ΑΤΤΑΛΙΔΟΣΤΗΣΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ
ΚΟΥ

Published by Boeckh, n. 2829, from Sherard, who saw the fragment at the left in a more perfect state. With the necessary restorations the inscription reads thus:—

Η σορος και ὁ βωμος και [αἱ εισωσται] και τα [πε]ρι αυτα παντα κατεσκευασθησαν και εισιν Τ[ιβ. Ιου]λιου Γλυκωνος, καθως και δια της γενομενης εκδοσεως δια [του χρε]οφυλακιου δηλουται. Εν ᾗ σορῳ κηδευθησεται αυτος τε ὁ Γλυκων η [ο]ὑς αν αυτος βουληθη η διαταξηται· εν δε ταις ισωσταις κηδευθη[σ]ονται οὑς αν ενθαψαι βουληθῃ ὁ Γλυκων, η ενγραφοις τινι συνχωρησει, η διαταξηται, ἑτερος δε ουδεις εξουσιαν ἑξει ενθαψαι τινα ουτε εις την σορον ουτε εις τας εισωστας, η οὑς αν Γλυκων αυτος ζων βουληθῃ ενθαψαι· ουδεις δε ἑξει εξουσιαν ενθαψαι τινα ἑτερος η εκθαψαι σωματειον των ενταφεντων τῃ του Γλυκωνος βουλησε[ι], ουτε δια ψηφισματος, ουτε δι' εντευξεως ἡγεμονικης, ουτε αλ[λ]ω τροπῳ ουδενι· ουδε απαλλοτριωσαι ουτε μετακεινησαι την [σ]ορον· ἐπει ὁ τουτων τι τολμησας η συνχωρησας αποτεισει τω ἱερ[ο]τατω ταμειω ϡ πεντακις χειλια, ὁν το τριτον γενησεται του εκδικησαντος. Ταυτης της επιγραφης απετεθη αντιγραφο[ν] και εις το χρεοφυλακιον επι στεφανηφορου το τρις και δεκατο[ν] Ατταλιδος της Μενεκρατους μηνος Ξανδ[ι]κου.

"The sarcophagus, and the monument, and the Isostæ, and all that belongs thereto, have been built by, and are the property of, Tiberius Julius Glyco, as is also declared by the deed of tradition in the Archives. In this sarcophagus there are to be buried both Glyco himself, and those whom he wishes or ordains; but in the Isostæ there are to be buried those whom Glyco wishes or permits by writ, or ordains to be buried. But another shall not have leave to bury any one, either in the sarcophagus or in the Isostæ, except those whom Glyco in his lifetime wishes to bury [their dead there]. But no other person shall have leave to bury, or to take out any corpse of those buried by Glyco's desire; neither by [availing himself of] a decree, nor an injunction from the governor, nor in any other

way; neither shall he alienate nor move the sarcophagus; since he who attempts any of these acts, or gives leave to another, shall pay to the most sacred treasury 5000 denaria, of which one-third shall be his who institutes proceedings. A copy of this inscription was also deposited in the archives, there being Stephanephorus for the thirteenth time Attalis, the daughter of Menecrates, in the month Xandicus."

The month Xandicus, or rather Xanthicus, was the sixth in the Ephesian almanac, and extended from January 25 to February 22.

The χρεοφυλακιον or χρεωφυλακιον, frequently mentioned in Greek inscriptions, is the municipal archive, in which all deeds relating to ground-hold property were deposited or registered, with a view, it seems, especially to secure the mortgages (χρεος), made by the proprietors. In an inscription copied by Sherard (p. 68) in Asia Minor, we see a secretary of the Gerusia also entrusted with the superintendence of the Chreophylacium. This may often have been the case. In the inscriptions of Aphrodisias, the Chreophylacium always appears intimately connected with the Stephanephorus. We have adverted to this title in an inscription of Mylasa (p. 68), where, the same as in ours, we see a woman bear the title of Stephanephorus. At Aphrodisias, to judge from the monuments and coins, this office was not the highest of the corporation; nor were the years, as they may have been in other cities, registered after the names of the Stephanephori for the time being. The latter might be inferred, indeed, from the expression in the inscriptions, επι στεφανηφορου ..... followed by the name of the month, because in this way the *magistratus eponymi* are commonly indicated; the learned Eckhel however (D. N. t. iv. p. 259) has placed beyond doubt the fallacy of such a conclusion. In our inscription some of the legal modes are mentioned by which property in tombs was transferred or given on lease: the εκδοσις (line 3) and the συγχωρησις (line 6), which was the usual way, and was made either in the lifetime of the proprietor by writ, or in his

will. Besides these, the παραχωρησις is mentioned in Inscription 44. and Boeckh, 2839. Απαλλοτριωσις (line 12) is the general term for the illegal modes of transferring. Lines 10 and 11 show that the sanctity of the tombs was sometimes violated by powers who could be awed only by religious fears. Certainly, as Inscription 41. shows, the preservation of the splendid tombs was intimately connected with the interests of the priesthood, of which the Stephanephori also were members. The ἱερωτατον ταμειον (line 13) may be the treasury of the temple, or that of the Βουλη, to which, in Inscription 21, the title ἱερωτατη is given.

No. 44.—In the south-east wall.

In the first eight lines of the following inscription the various members of the family are enumerated entitled to a burial in the proprietor's tomb, who, from line 7, appears to be called Eumachus. This name Boeckh substitutes at the end of line 1 for ΕΥΔΑΜΟΣ, which, being distinctly read in our as well as Sherard's transcript, is certainly on the stone, in consequence, perhaps, of an oversight of the stone-cutter, who was deceived by the immediately preceding ΕΥΔΑΜΟΥ. From the middle of line 8 the inscription contains one of the most complete declarations against the violation of tombs:—"But nobody else [shall have leave to bury any one] in the sarcophagus, nor move it, nor allow to any one the separate use of the sarcophagus or the altar, or an Isosta; nor find a mode in which they might [be alienated] under any pretence. But after the [aforesaid persons] being buried, the monument is to be made a Heroum. But if anybody attempts to bury [any one in the sarcophagus] or the Isostæ, or move the sarcophagus, or to do anything contrary [to the prescriptions], both he who does so and he who receives [the grant] shall be a grave-robber, [and impious and] accursed; and they shall pay besides, both he

who does so [and he who receives], to the treasury 10,000 denaria of the silver coin of the Roman nation, and no less. The Heroum shall be consecrated after all the aforesaid persons being put into it. A copy of this inscription was deposited in the archives under the [Stephanephorus .....] descending in the sixth generation from Archimedes ..... of the month Trajanus Augustus."

Line 3, our transcript has ΠΑΠΙΟΥ instead of Sherard's ΠΑΠΠΟΥ; line 15, ΧΑΙ instead of ΚΑΙ; and line 17, ΕΝΤΕΘΗΙΝΑΙ instead of ΕΝΤΕΘΗΝΑΙ; line 19, ΘΕΑΣΤ. None of the almanacs known to us, has among the names of the months that of Trajanus Augustus, which was, like many others, only transitorily introduced into chronology. The terms *αφηρωισθαι* (line 12) and *αφιερωμενον ἡρωον* (lines 16 and 17) are found on other monuments of Aphrodisias. In later times the Greeks dignified every defunct by the name of Hero (see inscription on p. 144); it is but natural thence, that a tomb should be called a Heroum. Our inscription shows, however, that this was done in consequence of a distinct act called *αφηρωισθαι*, a term synonymous to the *αποθεωσις* (Inscr. 48. 51, and Boeckh, 2831). This consecration did not take place before the tomb was filled; and, in consequence of this act, the tomb was, no doubt, firmly shut up; the half-filled tombs were secured by bolts, which, to judge from Inscription 41, were exposed to many dangers.

ΛΑΤΟ / / / / ΟΣΤΟΥΞ / ΝΩΝΟΣΤΟΥΕΥΔΑΜΟΣ /
/ / / / ΗΝΕΠΙΚΕΙΜΕΝΗΝΑΥΤΩΣΟΡΟΝΕΦΩΕΝΜΕΝΤΗΣΟΡΩΤΑΦΗΣΕ
/ / / / ΜΕΝΟΣΚΑΙΑΥΡΗΛΙΑΤΑΤΙΑΠΑΠΙΟΥΤΟΥΠΕΡΕΙΤΟΥΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΟΥΣ /
ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΣΕΞΑΚΤΟΥΧΡΥΣΟΓΟΝΟΥΟΤΑΤΙΑΣΤΗΣ /
ΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΙΑΠΕΛΛΑΣΚΑΙΕΥΜΑΧΙΑΝΗΤΑΤΕΚΝΑΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΑΥ /
/ / ΒΕΡΙΟΥΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥΑΧΙΛΛΕΩΣΥΙΟΥΤΟΛΜΙΔΟΥΗΓΥΝΗΑΥΤΟΥ /
ΕΝΑΙΣΕΙΣΩΣΤΑΙΣΤΑΦΗΣΟΝΤΑΙΟΥΣΑΝΕΥΜΑΧΟΣΒΟΥΛΗΘΗΚΑΙ /
/ / / / ΑΙΕΝΑΥΤΑΙΣΚΑΙΕΚΓΟΝΑΑΥΤΟΥΜΟΝΑΕΤΕΡΟΣΔΕΟΥΔΕΙΣ /
/ / / / ΝΑΕΝΤΗΣΟΡΩΟΥΤΕΜΕΤΑΚΕΙΝΗΣΑΙΑΥΤΗΝΟΥΤΕΠΑΡΑ /
ΟΥΤΕΤΟΝΒΩΜΟΝΟΥΤΕΕΙΣΩΣΤΗΝΑΠΑΥΤΟΥΟΥΔΕΤΡΟΠΟΝΕΦΙΕΥ /
ΩΘΗΚΑΤΑΠΑΡΕΥΡΕΣΙΝΟΥΔΕΜΙΑΝΑΛΛΑΜΕΤΑΤΟΤΑΦΗΝΑΙΤΟΥΣ /
ΑΣΑΦΗΡΩΙΣΘΑΙΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝΕΑΝΔΕΤΙΣΕΠΙΧΕΙΡΗΣΗΗΕΝΘΑ /
/ / ΤΑΙΣΕΙΣΩΣΤΑΙΣΗΜΕΤΑΚΕΙΝΗΣΑΙΤΗΝΣΟΡΟΝΗΥΠΕΝΑΝΤΙΟΝΤΙ /
ΣΠΟΙΗΣΑΙΕΣΤΩΟΤΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΣΟΤΕΑΝΛΔΕΞΑΜΕΝΟΣΤΥΜΒΩ /
ΑΡΑΤΟΣΧΑΙΠΡΟΣΑΠΟΤΕΙΣΑΤΩΣΑΝΟΤΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΣΟΤΕΑΝΑΔΕ /
ΔΗΜΟΥΡΩΜΑΙΩΝΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΥΔΗΝΑΡΙΑΜΥΡΙΑΚΑΙΟΥΔΕΝΕΛΑΤΤΟΝ /
ΝΟΝΤΟΗΡΩΟΝΜΕΤΑΤΟΤΕΘΗΙΝΑΙΤΟΥΣΠΡΟΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΟΥΣ /
ΤΗΣΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΗΣΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝΑΠΕΤΕΘΗΕΙΣΤΟΧΡΕΟΦΥΛΑΚΙΟΝ /
ΩΝΟΣΠΕΝΤΑΚΙΤΟΥΑΡΧΙΜΗΔΟΥΣ / ΗΕΝΟΣΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΥΘΕΑΣΤ

Published by Boeckh, 2834, who reads the inscription as follows :—

. . . [του Απελ]λα του . . . . . του Ζηνωνος, του Ευδαμου, Ευ[μ]α[χ]ος [κατεσκευασε τον βωμον]
[και τ]ην επικειμενην αυτω σορον· εφ' ω εν μεν τη σορω ταφησε[ται αυτος και]
. . . . ινος και Αυρηλια Τατια Παππου του Περειτου Πανκρατους [και]
Αυρηλιος Διονυσιος εξακ[ι] του Χρυσογονου, ο Τατιας, της [Παππου, και του δεινος υιος και]
5 Αυρηλιοι Απελλας και Ευμαχιανη, τα τεκνα αυτου και Αυ[ρηλια . . . . Τι-]
βεριου Κλαυδιου Αχιλλεως, υιου Τολμιδου, ή γυνη αυτου. [Εν δε ταις υποκειμ-]
εναις εισωσταις ταφησονται οις αν Ευμαχος βουληθη και . . . . . .
[τεθη]αι εν αυταις και εκγονα αυτου μονα· ετερος δε ουδεις [εξει εξουσιαν]
[ενθαψαι τι]να εν τη σορω η μετακινησαι αυτην, ουτε παρα[χωρησαι τινι την σορον]
10 ουτε τον βωμον, ουτε εισωστην απ' αυτου, ουδε τροπον εφευ[ρειν ω αν απολλατρι-]
ωθη κατα παρευρεσιν ουδεμιαν· αλλα μετα το ταφηναι τους [προγεγραμμενους παντ-]
ας, αφηρωισθαι το μνημειον· εαν δε τις επιχειρηση η ενθα[ψαι τινα εν τη σορω η εν]
ταις εισωσταις η μετακινησαι την σορον η υπεναντιον τι [τοις υπογεγραμμενοι]
ς ποιησαι, εστω ο τε ποιησας ο τε αναδεξαμενος τυμβω[ρυχος και ασεβης και επ-]
15 αρατος και προσαποτεισατωσαν ο τε ποιησας ο τε αναδε[ξαμενος τω ταμειω]
δημου Ρωμαιων αργυριου δηναρια μυρια και ουδεν ελαττον· [εστω αφιερωμε-]
νον το ηρωον μετα το εντεθηναι τους προγεγραμμενους [παντας. Ταυτης]
της επιγραφης αντιγραφον απετεθη εις το χρεωφυλακιον [επι στεφανηφορου . . . .]
ωνος, πεντακι του Αρχιμηδους, μηνος Τραιανου Σεβαστου.

No. 45.—In the south-east wall.

ΥΝΕΩΝΗΣΑΤΟΑΥΡΗΛ
ΥΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΝΜΑΡΑΥΡΚΛΑΔ
ΟΚΛΑΔΙΟΣΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΣΑΝΗ
ΑΙΔΕΕΝΑΥΤΗΚΑΙΑΥΡΗΛΙΑΓΛΥΠ
ΓΕΓΡΑΜΕΝΗΚΑΙΓΛΥΠ ΔΝΟΥΗ
ΞΟΥΣΙΑΝΕΝΘΑΨΑΙΤΙΝΑΕΝΤΗΣΟΡΩΕ
ΓΥΡΙΟΥΧΓΩΝΤΟΤΡΙΤΟΝΕΣΤΑΙΤΟΥΕΙΚΓ
ΕΙΔΟΦΟΡΩΕΙΣΩΣΤΗΝΚΑΙΤΑΙΣΕΝΤΩΒΩΜΩ
ΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΗΣΥΝΧΩΡΗΣΗΤΕΚΝΑΔΙΑΔ
ΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝΑΠΕΤΕΘΗΕΙΣΤΟΧΡΕΟΦΥΛΑΚΙΟ
ΑΤΤΑΛΙΔΟΣΣΑΒΕΙΝΗΣΤ

No. 46.—In the south wall.

ΗΣΙΜΟΥΤΟΥΠΑΠΙΟΥΚΑΘΗΝΕΠΟΙ
ΤΟΥΕΡΜΟΥΕΙΣΗΝΣΟΡΟΝΚΕΚΗΔΕΥ
ΝΗΣΚΑΘΑΔΙΕΤΑΞΑΤΟΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΣΟΝ
ΕΨΑΜΕΝΗΑΥΤΟΝΚΑΙΠΑΠΙΑΝΗΗΠΡΟ
ΑΥΤΩΝΕΤΕΡΟΝΔΕΟΥΔΕΙΣΕΞΕΙΕ
ΤΕΙΣΕΙΕΣΤΟΙΕΡΩΤΑΤΟΝΤΑΜΕΙΟΝΑΡ
ΑΝΤΟΣΕΙΣΔΕΤΗΝΥΠΟΤΗΣΟΡΩΕΝΤΩ
ΕΥΘΗΣΟΝΤΑΙΟΥΣΑΝΠΑΠΙΑΝΗΗΠΡΟ
ΤΕΛΥΤΗΣΤΗΣΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΗΣΤΑΥΤΗΣ
ΕΠΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΥΠΟΠΛΙΑΣΑΙΑΣ
ΓΜΗΝΟΣΓΟΡΠΙΗΟΥ

This inscription is published by Boeckh, 2840, who reads thus:—

[την σορ]ον εωνησατο Αυρηλ[ια Παπιανη Ον]ησιμου του Παπιου, καθ ἡν εποι-
[ησα]το διαθηκην Μαρ. Αυρ. Κλαδ[ιος Φιλητου], του Ἑρμου. Εις ἡν σορον κεκηδευ-
[ται] ὁ Κλαδιος, γενομενος ανη[ρ της Παπια]νης καθ' ἁ διεταξατο· κηδευθη-
[σονται δε εν αυτη και Αυρηλια Γλυπ[τη ἡ αναθρ]εψαμενη αυτον και Παπιανη ἡ
5 προγεγραμμενη και Γλυπ[τη τε και Ονησιμη, θυγατερες] αυτων, ἑτερον δε ουδεις ἑξει ε-
ξουσιαν ενθαψαι τινα εν τη σορω· ε[πει απο]τεισει ες το ἱερωτατον ταμειον αρ-
γυριου ✱ Γ ὡν το τριτον εσται του εκδ[ικησ]αντος. Εις δε την ὑπο τη σορω εν τω
ειδοφορω εισωστην και τας εν τω βωμω [κηδ]ευθησονται οὑς αν Παπιανη ἡ προ-
γεγραμμενη συνχωρηση, τεκνα διαδ[οχοι]τε αυτης. Της επιγραφης ταυτης
10 αντιγραφον απετεθη εις το χρεοφυλακιον επι στεφανηφορου Ποπλιας Αι[λι]ας
Ατταλιδος Σαβεινης τη γ μηνος Γορπιηου.

"Aurelia Papiana, daughter of Onesimos, the son of Papias, bought the sarcophagus according to the will which Marcus Aurelius Cla[u]dius, son of Philetes, the son of Hermes, made.

"In this sarcophagus there has been buried Cla[u]dius, who had been the husband of Papiana, according to his last will; and there shall be buried in it also Aurelia Glypte, who had brought him up, and Papiana the aforesaid, and Glypte and Onesime, their daughters. But nobody shall have leave to bury another in the sarcophagus; since he shall pay to the most sacred treasury 3000 silver denaria, of which one-third is to be his who institutes proceedings. But in the Isasste, which is in the frieze under the sarcophagus, and those in the altar, there shall be buried those to whom the aforesaid Papiana may grant it, her children and heirs. A copy of this inscription has been deposited in the archives under the Stephanephorus Publia Ælia Attalis Sabina, on the third day of the month Gorpieus."

ΑΙΑΣ, line 10, may be a mistake of the stone-cutter instead of **ΑΙΛΙΑΣ**; but **ΚΛΑΔΙΟΣ**, which appears distinctly (lines 2 and 3) in our transcript, seems to be as distinct a variation of the name *Claudius*, as is *Clodius*. Line 7, instead of our **Γ**, Boeckh has ς, the sign of the number 6. The *ειδοφορος* (line 8) of a tomb is mentioned in this inscription, and the fragments of two others from Aphrodisias (Boeckh, 2849, 2850); the word is a synonym of the common architectural term *ζωφορος*. Not one of the tombs observed by Mr. Fellows in Caria has, like those of Lycia, the appearance of a house; they generally consist of three parts; the substructure, *πλατας*, the body of the tomb, called *βωμος* and *μνημειον* (by this word sometimes the whole tomb is meant), and the sarcophagus (or cinerary urn), *σορος*. The two former contained several compartments, *εισωσται*, which were for burying the less-honoured members of the family, the sarcophagus being reserved for the remains of the most respected persons. Some tombs, as we see from our inscription, had an additional room between the *soros* and the body of the tomb, the *eidophoros*. Whether the woodcuts on

pages 39, 40, represent specimens of the *soros* or the *eidophoros*, cannot be decided with certainty, since we do not know what shape or materials were essential in either; it is unlikely, however, that an eidophoros which was used after the soros upon it had been filled (line 8), should have had no other opening but at the top, which is the case in the sarcophagi represented.

The month of Gorpieus (line 11) is the eleventh both in the Syro-Macedonian and the Ephesian almanac, and in the latter extended from July 25th to August 25th.

No. 47.—On a slab.

Published by Boeckh, 2845.

The first line of the following inscription, owing to the several genitives contained in it, admits of more than one interpretation; that followed in the translation is founded on line 8. Here the names of the proprietor, Julius Aurelius Charidemus, reappear, without however the *cognomen* Julianus, just in the same way as the *prænomen* of his mother is left out, from which it may have been derived. To have many names, several Roman and one Greek, was quite the fashion at Aphrodisias. See Boeckh, 2821.

The words at the end of the inscription are restored by Boeckh, ΤΟΝ Ἅπαντα χρόνον; the verb at the beginning of the last line is Α[ΦΗ]ΡΩΙΣ[Θ]ΗΣΕΤΑΙ.

ΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝΙΟΥΛΙΟΥΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΥΖΗΛΟΥΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣΥΙΟΥΧΑΡΙ
ΔΗΜΟΥΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥΕΝΤΗΣΟΡΩΤΕΘΑΠΤΑΙΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣΑΥΡΗΛΙ
ΟΣΖΗΛΟΣΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣΣΟΦΙΣΤΗΣΚΤΙΣΤΗΣΤΩΝΜΕΓΙΣΤΩΝΕΡΓΩΝ
ΕΝΤΗΠΟΛΕΙΚΑΙΙΟΥΛΙΑΠΑΥΛΑΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙΑΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΩΝΚΑΙ
ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΝΚΑΙΤΩΝΣΥΝΑΙΤΙΩΝΤΗΠΟΛΕΙΤΗΣΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΙΑΣ
ΑΠΟΓΟΝΟΣΚΑΙΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣΧΑΡΙΔΗΜΟΣΟΕΚΓΟΝΟΣΑΥΤΩΝ
ΟΥΔΕΙΣΔΕΑΛΛΟΣΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΝΕΞΕΙΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΝΑΙΕΝΤΗΣΟΡΩ
ΗΙΟΥΛΙΟΣΑΥΡΗΛΙΟΣΧΑΡΙΔΗΜΟΣΟΠΑΙΣΖΗΛΟΥΚΑΙΠΑΥΛΗΣ
ΜΕΘΟΝΑ◢◢◢◢ΡΩΙΣ◢◢ΗΣΕΤΑΙΗΣΟΡΟΣΚΑΙΑΝΕΝΟΧΛΗΤΟΣΤΟΝΑ

"The monument of Julius Aurelius Charidemus Julianus, son of Zelus the High-priest. In the sarcophagus has been buried Claudius Aurelius Zelus, the High-priest, Sophist [and] founder of the greatest works in the city; and Julia Paula, the High-priestess, a descendant of Stephanephori and High-priests, and those who with others effected the freedom of the city; and Aurelius Charidemus, their grandson. But nobody else shall have leave to be buried in the sarcophagus, except Julius Aurelius Charidemus, the son of Zelus and Paula, after whom the sarcophagus shall be made a Heroum and [be] undisturbed for ever."

No. 48.—On a sarcophagus.

ΤΙΝΑΕΝΤΜ▲▲ΕΚΘΑΨΑΙΤΩΝΑ▲▲▲▲ΜΕΝΩΝΕ▲▲ΙΙΩΝΙ▲▲ΝΙΙΠΟΙΗΣΑΣΤΟ
ΔΙΑΤΕΤΑΓΜΙΝΙ,,ΔΙΑΤΑΥΤΗΣΕΠ▲▲▲▲ΣΕΣΤΩΑΣΕΒΗΣΑΙΕΠΑΡΑ Τ Σ
ΚΑΙΠΡΟΣΑΠΟΤΕΙΣΑΤΩΙΣΤΟΝΤΟΥΚΥΡΙΟΥΑΥΤΟΚΑΤΟΡΟΣΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣΦΙΣΚΟΝΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΥ✱
ΩΝΤΟΤΟΤΡΙΤΟΝΜΕΡΟΣΕΣΤΑΙΤΟΥΕΚΔΙΚΗΣΑΝΤΟΣΚΑΙΟΥΔΕΝΕΛΑΤΤΟΝΤΑΝΤΑΜΕΝΕΙΡΥ L
ΤΑΥΠΕΜΟΥΔΙΑΤΕΤΑΓΜΕΝΑ·ΕΝΔΕΤΑΙΣΙΣΩΣΤΑΙΣΚΑΙΤΩΠΛΑΤΑΦΗΣΟΝΤΑΙΟΥΣΙ
Κ Ω Ι ΝΤΕΚΝΑΑΥΤΟΥΒΟΥΛΗΘ
ΘΗΙΣΤΟΧΡΕΟΦΥΛΑΚΙΟΝΕΠΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΥΑΔΡΑΣΤΟΥΤΟΥΑΔΡΙΣΟΥΤΟΥΑΠΟΛΛΟΝΙΟΥΙΟΡΟΟΣ

The inscription may in the following way be partly restored :—

[ουδεις δε εξουσιαν ἐξει ενθαψαι]
τινα εν τη [σορω η] εκθαψαι των α[ποθεω]μενων [επει ὁ τουτων τι?] ποιησας [παρα τα?]
διατεταγμενα δια ταυτης επ[ιγραφη]ς, εστω ασεβης και επαρατος [και τυμβωρυχος?]
και προσαποτεισατω ις τον του κυριου Αυτοκρατορος Καισαρος φισκον αργυριου ✱ · · ·
ὡν το τριτον μερος εσται του εκδικησαντος, και ουδεν ελαττον. Παντα μεν ειρυ[ται?]
τα ὑπ' εμου διατεταγμενα. Εν δε ταις ισωσταις και τω πλατα ταφησονται οὑς [αν]
· · · · · τεκνα αυτου βουληθ[ωσιν. Ταυτης της επιγραφης αντιγραφον]
απετεθη ις το χρεοφυλακιον επι στεφανηφορου Αδραστου, του Αδρισου, του Απολλωνιου, ἱερεως.

The final part of the usual declarations against infractions of the tomb, but more than usually prolix. The phrase (line 4) ΠΑΝΤΑ ΜΕΝ ΕΙΡΥ*ται* [?] especially is unusual; it gives a tolerable sense: "All that I have ordained in my will has been secured, *i. e.* by public authority." The form *ειρυμαι* is commonly stated to be found only in the epic poems.

No. 49.—In the west wall.

ΔΔΙΜΑΡΚΟΣΑΔΙΙΔΔΔΔΟΣΙΟΛΟΔ
ΑΣΗΤΑ⊔ΚΑΤΑΤΗΝΔΟΘΕΙΣΑΝΑΥΤΩΤΟΥΔΔΑΔ
ΕΤΡΑΚΙΤΟΥΚΑΛΛΙΠΠΟΥΝΕΩΤΕΡΟΥΔΙΑΤΟΥΔ
ΛΥΠΤΟΥΗΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗΓΥΝΗΑΥΤΟΥΚΗΔΕΥΔ
ΗΓΥΝΗΑΥΤΟΥΕΤΕΡΟΣΔΕΟΥΔΕΙΣΕΞΕΙΕΞΟΥΣΙΔ
ΣΣΟΥΚΑΙΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΗΣΜΟΝΩΝΗΕΠΙΟΠΑΡΟΤΑΥΔ
ΚΑΙΕΠΑΡΑΤΟΣΚΑΙΤΥΜΒΩΡΥΧΟΣΚΑΙΠΡΟΣΑΠΟΔ
ΓΩΝΤ ΙΤΟΝΜΕΡΟΣΕΣΤΑΙΤΟΥΕΓΔΙΔ
ΤΟΣΕΓΩΒΟΥΛΗΣΟΜΑΙΗΔΙΑΤΑΞΟΜΑΙΗΔΩΤΙΔ
ΑΠΕΤΕΘΗΕΙΣΤΟΧΡΕΟΦΥΛΑΚΙΟΝΕΠΙΣΤΕΦΑΔ
ΚΟΥ

The inscription wants its full half at the left side. The remainder may be thus restored :—

Μαρκος . . . . . αξιολογος [?]
. . . . . διατ]αξηται, κατα την δοθεισαν αυτω του [πλατ]α
[συνχωρησιν ὑπο . . . . . τ]ετρακι του Καλλιππου, νεωτερου, δια του
[χρεωφυλακιου . . . . κεκηδευται . . . Γ]λυπτου, ἡ γενομενη γυνη αυτου· κηδευ-
5 *[θησεται δε και αυτος και . . .] ἡ γυνη αυτου· ἑτερος δε ουδεις ἐξει εξουσι-*
[αν ενθαψαι τινα εν τη σορω χωρις . . . .] σσου και Ιουλιανης μονων· επι ὁ παρ[α] ταυ-
[τα τι ποιησας . . . . . εστω ασεβης] και επαρατος και τυμβωρυχος και προσαπο-
[τεισατω εις το ἱερωτατον ταμειον ✠] Γ ὡν το τριτον μερος εσται του εγδι[κησαντος]
[εν δε ταις ισωσταις κηδευθησονται οὑς αν αυ]τος εγω βουλησομαι η διαταξομαι η . . . .
10 *[ταυτης της επιγραφης αντιγραφον] απετεθη εις το χρεοφυλακιον επι στεφα-*
[νηφορου . . . . . μηνος Ξαν]δικου.

No. 50.—In the south wall.

ΩΑΟΝΑΝΑΥΙΟΣ ΟΥΙΙΟΗΙΙΔΝ◢
ΤΑΞΗΤΑΙΚΑΤΑΤΗΝΔΕΔΟΜΕΝΗΝΑΥΤΩ
ΣΥΝΧΩΡΗΣΙΝΥΠΟΜΕΝΑΝΔΡΟΥΤΟΥΜΕ
ΝΑΝΔΡΟΥΤΟΥΤΕΛΕΣΦΟΡΟΥΤΟΥ
ΛΕΥΩΝΟΣΔΙΑΤΟΥΧΡΕΟΦΥΛΑΚΙΟΥ
ΕΝΗΣΟΡΩΚΕΚΗΔΕΥΤΑΙΦΛΑΒΙΑΑΝΤΩΝ
ΑΛΒΑΣΚΑΝΤΕΙΝΑΗΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗΓΥΝΗΑ◢
ΤΟΥΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΣΕΤΑΙΔΕΚΑΙΑΥΤΟΣΑ◢
ΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΣΕΤΕΡΟΣΔΕΟΥΔΕΙΣΕΞΕ◢
ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΝΑΝΥΞΑΙΗΕΝΘΑΨΑΙΤΙΝΑΛΛ
ΛΟΝΣΩΕΣΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΟΥΤΟΥΠΡΟΔΗ
ΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΥΕΠΕΟΠΑΡΑΤΑΥΤΑΤΙΠΟΙΗ
ΣΑΣΗΕΠΕΙΧΕΙΡΗΣΑΣΕΣΤΩΑΣΕΒΗΣ
ΚΑΙΕΠΑΡΑΤΟΣΚΑΙΤΥΜΒΩΡΥΧΟΣΚΑΙ
ΠΡΟΣΑΠΟΤΕΙΣΑΤΩΕΙΣΤΟΙΕΡΩΤΑΤΟΝ
ΤΑΜΕΙΟΝΤΟΥΚΥΡΙΟΥΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣΚΑΙ
ΣΑΡΟΣΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΥ ϛ ΩΝΤΟΤΡΙΤΟΝΜΕΡΟ
ΕΣΤΩΤΟΥΕΚΔΙΚΗΣΑΝΤΟΣΤΗΣΕΠΙΓΡΑΦ

Published by Boeckh, 2830.

"..... according to the cession given to him by Menander, son of Menander, the son of Telesphorus, the son of Polemo [?], through the archives. In this sarcophagus there is buried Julia Antonia Abascantina, who had been his wife; there shall also be buried Apollonius himself. But another shall not have leave to open, or bury anybody else, except Apollonius, the aforesaid. Since he who acts against this, or attempts it, shall be impious, and cursed, and a grave-robber, and pay besides into the most sacred treasury of our master, the Emperor Cæsar, 6000 silver denaria, of which one-third part is to be his who institutes proceedings pursuant to this inscription."

Line 11, our transcript has **ΣΩΕΣ**, which is doubtless in-

correct, instead of **ΧΩΡΙΣ** given by Sherard. If it were **ΣΩΟΣ**, one might be tempted to suppose, that just as in the Latin and in the languages derived from it, *salvus*, *safe*, etc., the Greek word σως was used to signify *except*; of which signification there is no trace to be found. The numeral sign ς is wanting in Sherard's transcript. The word which begins both this and the preceding inscription, διαταξηται, shows that they have lost several lines.

No. 51.—In the west wall.

ΟΕΩΗΟΣΚΑΙΕΝΑΜΤΩΙΣΩΣΤΑΙΚΑΙΗΕΤΙΚΕΜΕΝ
ΚΗΔΕΥΟΗΣΟΝΤΑΙΚΑΤΑΠΑΝΟΣΚΑΙΚΑΑΥΔΙΑΖΩΣΙΝΟ
ΝΕΤΑΔΕΤΙΗΝΤΟΥΤΩΝΑΠΟΘΕΩΣΙΝΟΥΔΕΙΣΕΣΕΙΕ
ΟΗΣΟΝΤΑΙΤΕΚΝΑΠΑΝΟΥΚΑΙΙΟΥΝΑΙΗΣΚΑΙΕΓΓΟΝ
ΟΥΠΕΝΑΟΥΧΕΣΝΟΥΔΕΙΣΕΣΟΥΣΙΑΝΕΝΘΑΨΑΙΟΥΤΕΣ
ΗΕΓΓΟΝΩΝΤΩΝΤΑΤΑΝΟΥΕΣΟΥΣΙΑΝΣΥΝΧΩΡΗ
ΔΔΟΠΟΝΤΟΜΝΕΙΟΣΚΑΙΤΗΝΣΟΡΟΝΕΠΕΑΝΤΙΣΙΟ
ΗΙΧΑΤΙΝΙΤΟΜΝΙΙΕΟΝΚΑΙΤΙΝΣΟΡΟΝΕΝΟΧΟΣΕ
ΤΟΥΚΥΡΙΟΥΑΥΤΟΚΑΙΤΟΡΟΣΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΥΣΜΥΡΙΑΩΙ
ΤΑΥΤΗΣΑΙΙΤΕΘΗΑΝΤΓΡΑΦΟΝΕΙΣΙΟΧΡΕΟΙΥΛΑΚΙ
ΟΚΟΥΡΙΔΟΥΗΡΩΟ

In line 4–7, this declaration differs from those commonly inscribed on the tombs of Aphrodisias. The restorations adapt themselves to the words, which may be read distinctly in our transcript: they are without precedent. Prof. Boeckh reads: εκγονα αυτων· ἑτερον δε ουκ εξεσται ενθαψαι ουδενα· ουχ ἑξει ουδεις εξουσιαν ενθαψαι ουτε εκθαψαι ουδε αλλω τινι χωρις των εγγονων των Τατιανου [ἑξει] εξουσιαν συνχωρησαι, etc. Line 5, the double negation is remarkable. Lines 4 and 6, εγγονα instead of εκγονα. Line 5, Sherard reads **ΟΥΔΕΝΑ ΟΥΧ ΕΞΑΙ**; line 4, the owner's name, **ΤΑΤΙΑΝΟΥ**, but line 2, **ΚΑΙ ΑΘΗΑΝΟΣ**. Our line 11 is wanting in Sherard's MS. Κουριδης may have been one of Tatianus' grandchildren.

Published by Boeckh, 2832, from Sherard's transcript, which is no more accurate than ours. The stone is placed very high up in the wall. From the comparison of the two transcripts, the inscription may, with some restorations, be read thus:—

ὁ βωμος και εν αυτω ισωσται και ἡ επικειμεν[η σορος εισιν . . . . Εν ἡ σορω]
κηδευθησονται Κλ. Τατιανος και Κλαυδια Ζωσιμο[υ Ιουλιανη, ἡ γυνη αυτου]
Μετα δε την τουτων αποθεωσιν ουδεις ἐξει ε[ξουσιαν ενθαψαι ἑτερον· εν δε τω βωμω κηδευ]-
θησονται τεκνα Τατιανου και Ιουλιανης και εγγον[α αυτων· ἑτερος δε ουδεις κατα τροπον]
5 ουδενα. Ουχ ἐξει ουδεις εξουσιαν ενθαψαι η ε[κβαψαι σωματειον· [?] ουχ ἐξει ουδεις, χωρις τω]
ν εγγονων των Τατιανου εξουσιαν, συνχωρη[σαι τινι η απαλλοτριωσαι κατ' ουδενα]
[τρ]οπον το μνημειον και την σορον· επε[ι] αν τις το[λμηση απαλλοτριωσαι η συνχωρ]-
ησαι τινι το μνημειον και την σορον, ενοχος ε[στω αποτεισαι εις τον φισκον]
του κυριου Αυτοκρατορος αργυριου ✱ μυρια ὡν το τριτον εσται του εκδικησαντος. Της επιγραφης]
10 ταυτης απετεθη αντιγραφον εις το χρεωφυλακι[ον επι στεφανηφορου . . . .]

Κουριδου ἡρωων.

No. 52.—On the same stone as No. 28.

ΟΥΚΑΙΙΕΘΕΙΙΙΑΚΑΤΑΤΑΣΔΟΘΕΙΣΑΣ
ΚΙΤΟΥΥΨΙΚΛΕΟΥΣΤΩΝΤΟΠΩΝΣΥΝΧΩ
ΟΥΩΝΕΝΜΕΝΤΗΙΣΟΡΩΤΕΘΑΠΤΑΙΑΡΙΣ
ΔΖΗΝΩΝΟΣΤΟΥΘΕΑΙΤΗΤΟΥΟΥΙΟΣΑΥ
ΔΣΤΟΚΛΗΣΟΚΑΙΖΗΝΩΝΚΑΙΑΠΦΙΟΝΑ
ΕΗΡΩΔΟΥΗΓΥΝΗΑΥΤΟΥΕΝΔΕΤΑΙΣ
ΔΝΙΠΠΟΣΤΕΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΥΣΤΟΥΖΗ
ΚΑΙΟΥΣΑΝΖΗΝΩΝΟΚΑΙΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ
ΗΛΟΥΜΕΝΟΣΒΟΥΛΗΘΩΣΙΝ
ΙΣΑΠΕΤΕΘΗΑΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝΕΙΣΤΟ
ΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΥΤΟΔ̄ΤΙΚΛΥΨΙΚΛΕ
ΙΝΟΣΙΟΥΛΙΗΟΥ

Published by Boeckh, 2836, from Sherard's MS., who saw the stone in a more perfect state. With his additions, and some restorations, the inscription reads thus:—

. . . . . *κατα τας δοθεισας*
[*αυτω ὑπο* Τι. Κλαυδιου [?] *τετρα*]*κι του Ὑψικλεους των τοπων συνχω-*
[*ρησιν δια του χρεωφυλακι*]*ου. Ὧν εν μεν τη σορω τεθαπται Αρισ-*
[*τοκλης Αριστοκλεους του και*] *Ζηνωνος του Θεαιτητου, ὁ υἱος αυ-*
[*του ταφησεται δε και αυτος Αρι*]*στοκλης ὁ και Ζηνων και Απφιον . . .*
. . . . . *Ἡρωδου ἡ γυνη αυτου εν δε ταις*
[*ισωσταις ταφησονται Με*]*νιππος τε Αριστοκλεους του Ζη-*
[*νωνος και . . . . . .*] *και οὑς αν Ζηνων ὁ και Αριστοκλης*
[*και Μενιππος ὁ προδ*]*ηλουμενος βουληθωσιν*
[*ταυτης της επιγραφ*]*ης απετεθη αντιγραφον εις το*
[*χρεωφυλακιον επι στε*]*φανηφορου το δ̄* Τι. Κλ. Ὑψικλε-
[*ους. μ*]*ηνος Ιουλιηου.*

The person mentioned line 2, is probably the Hypsicles of line 11; Boeckh therefore reads the first word of line 2 as ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥ. The τετρακι [?], which adapts itself to the

letters appearing in our transcript, must not be taken as synonymous with $\overline{\Delta}$ in line 11; the latter informs us that Hypsicles was Stephanephorus for the fourth time. Ὧν, line 3, which is not in Sherard's transcript, may be taken as a partitive genitive relating to the various parts of the tomb, which were probably enumerated in the lines at the top. The month of Julieus does not appear in the almanacs of Asia Minor known to us.

Line 7, ΑΡΙΣΤΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΤΟΥ ΖΗνωνος seems to stand for Αριστοκλεους του και Ζηνωνος, but the particle και does not appear in either transcript.

No. 53.—On a slab.

ΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝΚΑΙΤΗΝΕΠΗΑ
ΤΩΣΟΡΟΝΚΑΙΤΑΣΕΙΣΩΣΤΑΣΚΑ
ΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝΖΗΝΩΝΑΠΟΛ
ΛΩΝΙΟΥΤΟΥΓΑΜΟΥ

ΗΔΕΥΤΑΙΖΗΝΩΝΟΠΡΟΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΟΣΑΝΑΤ
ΕΩΝΙΟΥΕΚΑΡΝΟΥΣΑΡΤ/ΟΥΧΕ ΚΗΔΕΥ
ΟΥΤΟΥΓΑΜΟΥΟΤΟΥΑΔΕΛΦΟΥΑΥΤΟΥΥΙΟ
ΟΙΕΡΥΕΟΦΟΡΟΙΕΝΕΟΠΥΟΙΣΕΙΕΑΙΩΝΙΟΥ
ΝΔΗΑΟΥΤΑΙΕΤΙΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΣΕΤΑΙΕΝΤΗΣ
ΟΥΕΤΕΡΟΣΔΕΟΥΑΕΙΣΕΞΟΙΣΙΑΝΕΞΕ
ΡΗΣΟΡΩΟΥΤΕΑΝΥΞΑΙΑΥΤΗΝΕΠΕΙΑΠ
ΣΚΟΝΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΥΧΓ̅ΩΝΤΟΤΡΙΤΟΝΕΕ
ΡΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΣΟΝΤΑΤΟΥΕΑΝΧΡΗΣΙΜΟ
ΛΠΤΘΗΕΙΣΤΟΧΡΕΟΦΥΛΑΚΙΟΝΕΠΙΣΤΕΦ

The first four lines inform us that "Zeno, son of Apollonius, the son of Gamus, built the monument and the sarcophagus upon it, and the Isostæ." Those which follow have lost a considerable part at the left. We see from line 5 that there had

been buried in the sarcophagus the aforesaid Zeno, whose lineage may be contained in line 6; there was buried also a son of his brother (line 7). In line 8 the trustees of the temple, the Neopoei (ΝΕΟΠΥΟΙ, as in No. 41), and perhaps the Stephanephori are mentioned; from this and from the beginning of line 8, we may infer that Chresimus (line 13), who afterwards became the proprietor of the tomb, had made arrangements with the public authorities to obtain for himself a burial in the sarcophagus. He alone is entitled to this (line 9); "nobody else shall have leave to bury another in the sarcophagus, or to open it; he who acts against it shall pay into the Emperor's fisc 3000 silver denaria, of which one-third is to be his who [institutes proceedings. But in the Isostæ] there shall be buried those whom Chresimus [may wish. A copy of the inscription] was deposited in the archives under the Stephanephorus . . . . . ."

No. 54.—In the west wall.

ΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝΚΑΙΗΕΠΑΥΤΩΣΟΡΟΣΕΣΤΙΝ
ΧΑΡΗΤΟΣΤΕΤΡΑΚΙΤΟΥΖΗΝΩΝΟΣΤΟΥΑΡΤΕΜΟ
ΝΟΣΑΙΝΕΙΟΥΕΣΗΝΣΟΡΟΝΚΕΚΗΔΕΥΤΑΙΧΑΡΗΣ
ΟΠΑΤΗΡΟΑΙΝΕΙΟΥΚΑΙΧΑΡΗΣΚΑΙΑΠΦΙΑΟΙΠΑΠΠΟΙ
ΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΓΑΥΚΩΝΟΘΕΙΟΣΑΥΤΟΥΜΟΝΩΝΕΤΙ
ΔΕΥΘΗΣΟΜΕΝΩΝΑΠΦΙΑΣΤΗΣΜΗΤΡΟΣ Α
ΝΕΙΟΥΚΑΙΑΙΝΕΙΟΥΚΑΙΤΗΣΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣΑΥΤΟΥ
ΦΥΣΙΚΩΝΤΕΚΝΩΝΑΥΤΟΥΜΗΔΕΝΟΣΕ
ΧΟΝΤΟΣΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΝΑΛΛΟΝΤΙΝΑΕΝΘΑΨΑ
ΜΗΤΕΕΙΣΤΟΝΒΩΜΟΝΜΗΤΕΕΣΤΗΝΣΟΡΟΝ
ΕΠΕΙΟΕΝΘΑΨΑΣΑΠΟΤΕΙΣΑΤΩΤΩΙΕΡΩΤΑΤΩΤΑ
ΜΕΙΩ ΔΙΣΧΕΙΛΙΑΠΕΝΤΑΚΟΣΙΑΤΑΥΤΗΣΤΗΣ
ΕΠΙΓΡΑΦΗΣΑΠΕΤΕΘΗΝΤΙΓΡΑΦΟΝΕΣΤΟΧΡΕ
ΟΦΥΛΑΚΙΟΝΕΠΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΥΤΟΘΑΤΤΑ
ΔΙΔΟΣΤΗΣΜΕΝΕΚΡΑΤΟΥΣΜΗΝΟΣΓΟΡΠΙΕΟΥ

"The monument and the sarcophagus upon it are the property of Chares Æneas, descending in the fourth generation from Zeno, the son of Artemo. In the sarcophagus there has been buried Chares, the father of Æneas, and Chares and Appia, his grandfather and grandmother, and Glyco, his uncle, there being yet to be buried only Appia, Æneas' mother, and his wife, and the children begotten of his body, nobody having leave to bury another, neither in the monument nor in the sarcophagus, since he who buries [another there] shall pay into the most sacred treasury 2500 denaria. A copy of this inscription was deposited in the archives, there being Stephanephorus for the ninth time Attalis, the daughter of Menecrates, in the month Gorpieus."

In a manner similar to that, in which the grandfather's father and grandfather are in French called *bis-aïeul* and *tris-aïeul*, it is common for persons of Aphrodisias to call themselves δις up to ἑξακις, the descendants of their ancestors.

Not always (Boeckh, 2835, 2774), but commonly in these cases, all the ancestors, up to him who is named, have the same name as the first-mentioned person. Thus in our inscription the proprietor has the name borne by his father and grandfather, Chares, together with that of Æneas. By this he is called where ambiguities are to be avoided; and indeed it seems to be the usual name of the individual, that of Chares approaching somewhat towards a family name. It is curious that the women also, who married into that family, had a common name, that of *Appia*. In a great many inscriptions we have found a woman called by two names, which have not the respective relations of prænomen and cognomen. Sometimes women on marrying may have adopted the names of their mothers-in-law.

The month of Gorpieus has occurred in No. 46.

No. 55.—In the west wall.

ΖΗ
ΟΒΩΜΟΣΚΑΙΗΣΟΡΟΣΕΣΤΙΝΟΥΛΠΙΟΥΧΑ
ΡΙΤΩΝΟΣΙΑΤΡΟΥΙΣΗΝΣΟΡΟΝΤΕΘΗΣΕ
ΤΑΙΑΥΤΟΣΚΑΙΦΛΘΑΛΣΙΑΗΓΥΝΗΑΥΤΟΥ
ΚΑΙΟΥΛΠΙΟΣΑΠΕΛΛΑΣΟΥΙΟΣΑΥΤΩΝΕ
ΤΕΡΟΣΔΕΟΥΔΕΙΣΤΕΘΗΣΕΤΑΙΕΝΑΥΤΗΕ
ΠΕΙΟΘΑΨΑΣΕΤΕΡΟΝΑΠΟΤΕΙΣΕΙΕΙΣΤΕΙ
ΜΑΣΤΩΝΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ ⁜

ΟΜΟΙΩΣΕΙΝΑΙΚΑΙΤΑΣΠΑΡΑΚΕΙΜΕΝΑΣΤΩΒΩΜΩΚ
ΤΩΣΟΡΙΩΙΣΩΣΤΑΣΠΛΑΜΜΟΥΣΤΡΕΙΣΟΥΛΠΙΟ
ΧΑΡΙΤΩΝΟΣΕΞΩΝΜΙΑΝΕΙΝΑΙΚΟΡΝΗΛΙΑΝΟΥΤΟ
ΥΙΟΥΑΥΤΟΥΤΗΝΔΕΜΙΑΝΔΙΟΝΥΣΙΟΥΤΟΥΔΙΟΝΥΣ
ΟΥΤΟΥΤΑΤΙΑΣΥΙΟΥΤΗΣΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΗΣΧΑΡΙΤΩΝΟ
ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣΤΗΝΔΕΤΡΙΤΗΝΟΥΛΠΙΟΥΑΠΕΛΛΑ
ΤΟΥΥΙΟΥΑΥΤΟΥ

Published by Boeckh, 2846, from Sherard, and the upper part also from Walpole's Travels, p. 462, n. 12.

"In his lifetime.

"The monument and the sarcophagus is [the property] of Ulpius Charito the physician. Into the sarcophagus there shall be put himself and Flavia Thasia [?], his wife, and Ulpius Apellas, their son; but nobody else shall be put into it, since he who buries another [there] shall pay as a fine to the august [*i.e.* Emperors] [6000] denaria.

"In the same way, the three Isostæ made of slabs, lying at the side of the monument and the sarcophagus, are to be the property of Ulpius Charito, of which one is to be the property of Cornelianus, his son; one that of Dionysius, son of Dionysius [and] of Tatia, who had been Charito's wife; and the third to be the property of Ulpius Apellas, his son."

Line 4, instead of **ΘΑΛΣΙΑ**, the other transcripts have **ΘΑΣΙΑ**. Line 9, Sherard has the numeral sign of ϛ after ✱; line 11, **ΠΛΑΔΙΜΟΥΣ**, which Prof. Boeckh corrects into **ΠΛΑΚΙΝΟΥΣ**. *Εισωσται πλακινοι*, lying at the side of the monument, are mentioned in no other inscription at Aphrodisias; so are the expressions **ΖΗ***σαντι* (line 6) and *εις τειμας των Σεβαστων* (lines 7 and 8). A physician of the name of Charito, a citizen of Aphrodisias, was known to Galen; Charito, the author of the novel edited by the learned D'Orville, was also a citizen of a city called Aphrodisias. D'Orville has made it probable that the Aphrodisias meant is the city of Caria; and our inscription, showing that in this city the name of Charito was not unusual (that of Athenagoras, his father, is also found there, Boeckh, 2748, 2782, 2783), throws some more weight into the balance.

No. 56.—In the south wall, partly in the earth.

ΚΛΗΡΟΝΟΜΩΝ
ΔΙΑΔΟΧΩΝΤΕ
ΑΥΤΩΝΚΑΙΩ
ΑΝΑΥΤΟΙΡΩ

This is probably part of the following inscription published by Boeckh, 2847, from Sherard's MS., stating that the tomb is the property of the Archiater, M. Aur. Messulejus Chrysaoreus, and of his wife, Socratis, and "of their heirs and successors, and those whom they themselves may wish [or order by will]."

Μαρκου Αυρηλιου Μεσσουληιου Χρυσαορε-
ως, αρχιατρου και Αυρηλιας Σωκρατι-
δος, της αξιολογωτατης γυναικος αυτου,
κληρονομων δια δοχων τε αυτων
και ων αν αυτοι βουληθωσιν η
διαταξωνται το μνημειον.

No. 57.—In the south wall.

ΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟ[illegible]Ν
ΚΕΙΜΕΝΗΝΑ[illegible]Η
ΤΑΣΕΝΤΩΜΜ[illegible]
ΣΤΑΣΚΑΤΕΣ[illegible]
ΤΟΥΦΛΑΒΙΟ[illegible]ΣΕ
ΑΥΤΩΚΑΙΟΓ[illegible]ΤΟΣ
ΒΟΥΛΗΘΗΗ[illegible]ΞΗΤΑΙ

This fragment, containing the usual declarations about a sarcophagus, and Isostæ which belong to [Titus] Flavius, may thus be partly restored :—

το μνημειο[ν και την επι-]
κειμενην α[υτω σορον και]
τας εν τω μν[ημειω εισω-]
στας κατεσ[κευασεν Τι-]
τος Φλαβιο[ς . . . . ος ἐ-]
αυτω και οἱ[ς αν αυ]τος
βουληθη [η διαταξ]ηται.

No. 58.—In a house.

ΟΠΛΑΤΑCΕCΤΙΝΑ[illegible]
ΠΟΥΤΟΥΑΔΡΑCΤΟΥC[illegible]
ΑΤΙΑCΓΥΝΑΙΚΟCΑΥΤC[illegible]
ΑΙΜΕΝΕCΘΕΟCΥΟΥΚ[illegible]
ΕΝΟΥCΑΥΤUΝo

May be read thus :

Ὁ πλατας εστιν Α[ριστιπ-]
που του Αδραστου [και Τ-]
ατιας γυναικος αυτο[υ κ-]
αι Μενεσθεος ὑου [και γ-]
ενοις αυτων.

"The platas is the property of A[ristip]pus, son of Adrastus and of Tatia his wife, and Menestheus their son, and their family."

Ἔος instead of υἱός is not unfrequent. See Boeckh, 2193. The peculiar shape of the ω in the last line is remarkable.

No. 59.—Built into a wall.

ΟΒΩΜΟΣΚΑ
ΥΠΟΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥΙΟΥ
ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟΥΕΙΣΙΝΣΟΙ
ΒΙΑΝΟΣΚΑΙΟΥΑΠΙΑΚ
ΑΥΤΟΥΕΤΕΡΟΣΔΕΟΥ
ΑΥΤΙΝΕΑΝΔΕΤΙΣΕΠ
ΤΩΝΕΝΚΗΔΕΥΘΗΣ(
ΤΩΝΔΙΑΤΕΤΑΓΜΕΝ(

This fragment was originally written on the tomb which a certain Tiberius built for himself and his family, probably in his lifetime (line 7 there seems to be ενκηδευθησομενων). The Β of this inscription is of a peculiar shape, similar to the Roman R.

Nos. 60 and 61.

Two other inscriptions were copied by impressing paper on the stones, but are too much obliterated to be deciphered with any certainty. The first has eighteen lines, containing twenty-five to thirty letters each. The form of the σ is always Ϲ. In line 11 we read εκ των προσοδων; line 13, φιλοδοξος; line 14, [παρασκ]ευαζομενων εκ του βιου αυ[του]; line 15, [αν]αθηματων αει μνημονευτο[ς]. The other contains seventeen lines, fragmentary, it seems, of seven to twelve letters each. Line 7, we read διαθηκα[ς]; line 8, πατριδα; line 12, [φι]λοδοξος; line 13, κατασκε[υαζομενος?]. The form of the σ is Ϲ.

No. 62.

ΟΔΗΜΟΣΤΗΣΛΑΜ
ΠΡΟΤΑΤΗΣΑΦΡΟ
ΔΕΙΣΙΕΩΝΠΟΛΕ
ΩΣΤΟΝΛΑΜΠΡΟ
ΤΑΤΟ

The rest of the inscription is purposely erased. Boeckh, n. 2761–65, gives from Sherard's MS. four inscriptions, beginning like ours: *ὁ δημος της λαμπροτατης Αφροδεισιεων πολεως τον λαμπροτατον δημον*; then follow respectively the names of the cities of Apollonia, Heraclea, Hierapolis, Cibyra and Tabe, which had joined with Aphrodisias in celebrating gymnastic festivals, and are honoured by "the most splendid city of the Aphrodisieans by [erecting the statue of] their most splendid Demos."

No. 63.—On a round pedestal.

ΤΑCΑΙΛΙΝCΜΑΛΛΙ
ΑΙΩΝΙΑΥΠΟΜΝΗ
CΙC
ΑΛΒΙΝΕΦΙΛΟΚΤΙCΤΑ

".....eternal remembrance. Albinus Philoctistes [farewell]."

No. 64.—On a seat in the stadium.

ΗΠΑΤΡΙΣ

"The native city."

No. 65.—Fragment on a wall.

ΟΝΥ/\Ε
ΕΟΥΔΕΟΕΕΝ
ΕΕΕΕ//ΝΠ
ΚΗΤΕΛ
ΙΥΛΙΝ

No. 66.—Reversed stone, built into the wall at the west gate.

ΟΔΙ-ΙΙΙ
ΕΤΕΦΝΝΛ
ΥΤΩΝΙΟΝΔ
ΜΙΑΝΟΝ-Υ
ΕΤΕΡΙΟΥΚΔΛ
ΝΤΩΝΙΟΥΔΟ
ΙΝΟΥΕΙΜΙΟ

We may take this as a fragment of an honorary decree in favour of Antonius Ammianus, (?), son of Tiberius Claudius, and grandson of Antonius Domitinus, two persons mentioned in No. 37; reading the fragment thus:—

ὁ δημ[ος]
ετειμησεν. Λ[ουκιον]
[Λ]ντωνιον Λ[μ-]
μιανον, υ[ἱον]
Τιβεριου Κλα[υδιου,]
[Λ]ντωνιου Δο[μιτε-]
ινου εκγονο[ν].

No. 67.—On a sarcophagus.

ΗϹϽΡΟϹϹϹΤΚΑΙΟΤΟΠΟϹΜΙΑΙΑΡΚΩΝΔΝΗΑΚΟΝΑΔ
ΟΦΟ◢ΤΕ◢ΠΑΝΟΥΚΑΙΕΥΡΙΗϹΚΔΙΗΡΑΚΑΕΟϹ ϹϽϹ
ΚΑΗΡΟΝΟΜΟΙΠΕΦΠΔΝΟΥΚΩΕΟΥΠΑΤΡΟϹΑΑΝΑϹΤ
ΟΛΜΗϹΙΠΟϕΙΑΟΥ
Τ∠Κ

In line 1 of this funeral inscription we may decipher:—

ἡ σορος . . τε και ὁ τοπος . . . αδελφος . . . . . Ἡρακλεος.

In line 2:—

κληρονομοι, and perhaps *στεφανηφορου*, besides *πατρος*.

No. 68.—On the lid of a sarcophagus.

ΝΙΟΝΟΥΠΦΟΦΗΟΥΜΑΡΩΝΟΣΗΑΝΤ◢◢ΟΥΣΑΜΕΙ◢Ι

The name of *Μαρων* we have had in an inscription from Telmessus, page 108.

No. 69.—On the lid of a sarcophagus.

ΩϹΤΤΩΙΑΜΙϹ◢ΡΥΛΓΤΟΛΔΥϹΩΑΡϹΝ◢Ν

No. 70.—On the lower part of a column.

ΑΧΜΓ
ΤΟΠΟϹΛΟΥ
ΚΑΦΙΛΟ
ΠΟΝΟΥ ✠

". . . . . the place of Lucas Philoponus."

No. 71.—Written around a cross on the door-post, probably of a Christian church.

ΑΝΑΛΗΨΗCΤΚΥ

Αναληψ[ι]ς Τ[ου] Κυ[ριου].

"The ascension of the Lord."

Αναληψης for αναληψις—if we are allowed to substitute this—is very remarkable: similarly, we have had νηκα instead of νικα, page 224, owing doubtless to the *Iotacismus* prevailing in Asia Minor when these Christian inscriptions were written.

There are other traces of this kind of pronunciation prevailing, even before that time, in Caria: Ορβηλιου instead of Ορβιλιου at Mylasa, Boeckh, 2700 B.: the promiscuous use of ῑ and ι in several inscriptions of Aphrodisias, and αναινεωθη instead of ανενεωθη, No. 17: βασιλεοντος instead of βασιλευοντος, which appears in some decrees of Mylasa and of Tralles, Boeckh (2919) also derives from the faulty pronunciation of the Greek in Caria.

No. 72.—On the door-post of a building, probably a Christian church.

>—<
ΚΕΒΩΙΘΙΤΟCΟΔΥΛΟ
ΜΥΣΛΥΡΗ ✠

Nos. 73 and 74. Page 45.—On the same.

ZHUMARLEECOOE.

No. 75. Page 52.—On a pedestal.

Απολλωνος Ελευθεριου Σεβαστου.

ALABANDA.

Nos. 76 to 79. Page 57.

EUROMUS.—(LABRANDA ?)

No. 80. Page 68.—On the six front columns.

About the office of Stephanephorus, see Selden ad Marm. Arund., ii. p. 165, and Eckhel D. N. IV. p. 212. At Smyrna and at Mylasa the year was named after the Stephanephorus, as it was in Rome after the Consuls. Boeckh, 2694, 2714. Labranda, according to Strabo, xiv. p. 659, was a κωμη of Mylasa.

No. 81. Page 69.—On the eleven side columns.

By a change very common in transcripts of Greek inscriptions, we have at the beginning ΛΕΟΝ instead of ΛΕΩΝ, which, indeed, appears on two of the tablets from which the inscriptions are copied. To ΚΕΦΑΛΗ on two tablets the characteristic iota of the dative is added, ΚΕΦΑΛΗΙ, whilst in ΣΠΕΙΡΗ it is left out, according to the general use of these inscriptions. The same discrepancy has been observed in an

inscription from Mylasa (Boeckh, 2696); and in general the inscriptions show that Carian orthography is anything but consistent.

MYLASA.

No. 82. Page 70.—On the single column.

Ὁ δημος
Μενανδρον Ουλια
δου του Ευθυ[δημου,]
τον ε[υεργ]ετην [τ]
ης π[ολε]ως και
εξ ευεργετων
γεγονοτα.

An Euthydemus exercised great influence in Mylasa and the adjacent parts of Asia in the times of Julius Cæsar and Augustus. See Strabo, xiv. p. 659.

No. 83. Page 71.—On a sarcophagus.

The last letter of line 1 appears like an Ω in the transcript. Τω instead of του, especially when the three following genitives have the right termination ου, is indeed against all rules of grammar. In an inscription from Mylasa, Boeckh, 2691, we have indeed genitives promiscuously terminating in ω and ου, but only in proper names; αυτω instead of αυτου we have, Boeckh, 2709.

No. 84. Page 71.—On a pedestal.

No. 85. Page 71.—In a wall.

This inscription may be partly restored thus:—

Τινηΐος [Βιω-]
νος λεον[τα α-]
νεθηκεν
Ἡρακλει
[κ]αι τοις. . . .

The name of Tineïus we read in an inscription at Athens. Chandler, Inscr. Ant. 62. line 5.

No. 86. Page 71.—On an altar.

No. 87. Page 72.—In the wall of an old mosque.

The inscription may be partly restored thus:—

Κτησεις εις τε τον κοινον
ς εις ὑπονοθευσιν οἰς δη καν επ . . . .[Μυ-]
λασεων πολιν εις δουλικην περι[στα-]
σιν αισχρα και ἡμων αναξι' ὁσα
5 οις γενοιτο πραξουσι δημοσια . . . . . [μη-]
τε χρηματων, μητε προσοδων
τι μη κατα τελων επι[λ]ειψιν λογ-
ιστας τε κεφαλας επι τελωνει
επανορθωσιν των εκ της Λαβειν[ου]
10 αφερουσης· ὁ δη και αυτοι προιδομεν
χρεα δημοσια την πολιν ὑπηγαγον
ομματων την καισαρος ὑπερ Μυλασεων.

The words after ὑπονοθευσιν, line 2, are wanting in Anthimus' transcript, from which Prof. Boeckh printed the inscription.

No. 88. Page 73.—Built into a wall.

Prof. Boeckh reads thus:—

[Επι στεφανηφορου του δεινος κ.τ.λ. εδοξε τη Οτορ]κονδε[ων φυλη] ταις αρχαιρεσιαις. [Επειδη Αμυν-]
[τας] Αγιδος πολιτευομενος απο του βεντιστου προτερον τε χ-
[ρει]ας παρεισχηται τη φυλη, εν αρχειοις τε γενομενος πλειοσιν προε[στη καλως?]
[κ]αι ενδοξως, συνπεριενεχθεις τοις φυλεταις και τοις αλλοις πο[λιταις ἀγνως?]
5 και φιλοστοργως και εμ πασιν αμεμπτος και ανεριθεντος και αδω[ροδοκητος γεν-]
ομενος, χρηματων τε χρειας γενομενης τω δημω, αξιωθεις [ὑπ]ο της [φυλης]
[επεδωκ]εν τη πατριδι· διο συνεβη την τε φυλην πολλω μαλλον δοκιμησαι
[κα]ι τη πατριδι συντελεσθηναι τα χρησιμα, ὡν ἐν[εκεν και] ἡ φυλη ευχα[ριστουσα]
[ετιμησ]εν αυτον ταις προσηκουσαις τιμαις· αλειτουργητος τε ων εκ τω[ν νομων,]
10 [αξι]ωθεις ὑπο τη φυλη ὑπεμεινεν γυμνασιαρχος και προεστη των
[ἱερ?]ων αξιως του δημου, προσενεχθεις πασιν ισως και μισοπονη[ρως και ακολουθ-]
ως τοις νομοις, ετι δε και αναθημασι κοσμησας την παλαιστραν εκ τω[ν ι-]
διων· προαιρουμενος μη μονον εν τοις προειρημενοις φιλοδοξ[ως, αλλ' ὁμοιως εν πασιν?]
ὑπερτιθεσθαι τας προτερον ευεργεσιας· ὁπως ουν και ἡ φυλη φαι[νηται τ-]
15 οις αγαθοις ανδρασιν και ευεργετουσιν την τε φυλην και τον δημ[ον χαριν]
απονεμουσα—αγαθη τυχη—επηνησθαι Αμυνταν και στεφανωσα[ι αυτον]
της και καλοκαγαθιας ἑνεκα της εις τε την φυλην και εις την πατρ[ιδα· και ἱνα μαλ-]
λον εκφανης γενηται ἡ των φυλετων αἱρεσις τε και σπουδη ἡν εχ[ουσιν].

Line 11, in the beginning, Chishull has **ΝΜΡΩΝ**, which Boeckh changes into [**Τ**]**ΑΜΙΩΝ**. An *επιστατης των ιερων* appears in another Mylasean inscription, Boeckh, 2693 C. From **ΔΝΟΕΩΝ** of our transcript, we might easily adopt the reading of *θεων*, if we could only restore the preceding word.

Line 13, **ΦΙΛΟΔΟΞ**, which appears distinctly in our transcript, is left out in that followed by Prof. Boeckh, who supplied the final words of the line from the general context.

The words **ΚΑΛΟΣΚΑΙΑΓΑΘΟΣ** and **ΚΑΛΟΚΑΓΑΘΙΑ** (line 17), are frequently mis-spelt in transcripts of Greek inscriptions; see, for instance, Sherard's MS. and Boeckh, 3065. Hence it may have happened, that the **ΚΑΙ**, which is distinctly in our transcript, is not in Boeckh's copy, who consequently restores the end of line 17 thus: *πατριδα· ἱνα δε μαλλον.*

Instead of **ΕΚΦΑΝΗΣ** (line 18), which appears distinctly in our transcript, Boeckh has **ΕΠΙΦΑΝΗΣ**.

STRATONICEIA.

No. 89. Page 81.—On the front of the portico of Council-hall.

[Ἡ πολις, ὡς εκελευσε και Σεραπις]
ερωτα δια Φιλοκαλο[υ]β, οικονομου, [ει]
[ε]πιστησονται οἱ αλιτηριοι βαρβαροι
[τη πο]λει η τη χωρα τω ενεστωτι ετει. Ὁ θεος εχρησε·
[πρατ]τοντας ὑμας ὁρων ουκ εχω την αιτιαν τουτου
[σ]υνβαλιν· ουτε γαρ εγω πορθησων την πολιν ὑμων εσταλην,
[ουτ]ε δουλην εξ ελευθεραν ποιησων ουτε αλλο των
αγαθων ουδεν αφαιρησομενος.

No. 90. Page 82.—Within the Council-hall.

The four intended verses read thus:—

Ζηνι Πανημεριω και Ἡλιω Διϊ Σεραπει σωθεντες
εκ πολεμων μεγαλων και αλλοδαποιο θαλασσων

ευχης ἱνεκε ταυτ' επεγραψαν ὑφ' ἑν οἱ τεσσαρες ανδρες
Ζωτικος, Επικτητος ηδ' Αντιοχος, ἁμα Νειλος.

Nos. 91 and 92.—On the north side of the portico of the Council-hall, are the inscriptions, of which the following is the translation. The portions supplied in brackets are taken from Sherard's MS. (Cod. Harleian, 7509, at the British Museum). Published by Boeckh, 2715 [1].

"Under the Stephanephorus Ptolemæus ..... Whereas Sosander, the son of Diomedes, the Secretary to the Council, represented that the town from the days of old had, by the power of the protecting Gods, the most mighty Jupiter Panemerius and Hecate, been saved out of many great and continuous dangers; whereof the holy asylums, and those who sought refuge, as well as the holy Senate, by a decree of Cæsar Augustus and the perpetual dominion of our masters, the Romans, have given clear proof; it behoves us to apply with all zeal to their worship, and to let pass no time for being pious and offering prayers; and there are placed in the august Council-hall the statues of the before-mentioned Gods, showing the most conspicuous virtues of the divine power; for the sake of which also the whole of the people offer sacrifices and incense and prayers and thanksgivings to the Gods, so very conspicuous, and wish to worship them also by a procession, with hymns and a service: it was decreed by the Council, to select now, from those of good birth, thirty boys, whom the Pædonomus, together with the public Pædophylaces, shall conduct every day into the Council-hall, clad in white garments and crowned with leafy branches, and having leafy branches in their hands also; who, with the assistance of the Citharistes and the herald, shall sing a hymn, which Sosander, the son of Diomedes, shall compose. But if some of the boys be elected into the Ephebi, or, the which may none of the Gods bring to pass, shall die without being elected into the Ephebi, others are to

be elected in their places, for the [performance of the] same hymn, the Pædonomus and the Pædophylaces laying it clearly down in writing, in order that for ever there may remain the same order of supplementary election, and service and worship of the Gods. Leave [of absence] may be given to the boys if any of them be in bad health, or prevented by family mourning. But if any of these things be not done, the magistrates and the Pædonomus shall be guilty of irreligion, and the public Pædophylaces be imprisoned. Besides, the priest of Hecate for the current year shall, from the precincts [of the temple] of the goddess and the neighbourhood, select annually some boys, who shall likewise sing the usual hymn to the Goddess, as was done before, he having permission, both as regards the fathers and the boys themselves, if the fathers should not offer them for the musical performance, or the boys not come forward, to prosecute them under the plea of Eisangelia, or whichsoever he chooses; the priest and the Eunuchus of the temple giving in their names in writing to the Pædonomus through the Council, as has likewise been mentioned concerning boys from the town. But if the Priest and the Eunuchus shall not do this, they shall be liable to the same penalties as the boys themselves. But if the boy who takes part in the musical performance is elected by the city into the Ephebi . . . . . ."

This inscription is frequently referred to, being one of the most explicit documents, which show the care bestowed by the ancients on musical performances and processions in connection with their worship. In line 10, where the secretary of the Council is ordered to compose a hymn, or rather to see that such a hymn be composed, Chishull (Antiq. As., p. 155.) very appropriately calls to mind the celebrated Carmen Seculare of Horace, written under similar circumstances. Boeckh is of opinion that our document is written a little before or after the year 22 of our æra. In this year the Roman Senate confirmed the rights of the asylum established at Stratoniceia. This asylum is spoken of (line 3), and it is not unlikely that the document was occasioned by that very decree of the Roman Senate.

ΕΠΙΣΤΕΦΑΝΗΦΟΡΟΥ
ΙΠΟΝΤΟΣΤΗΝΠΟΛΙΝ
ΚΙΝΔΥΝΩΝΣΕΣΩΣΘΑ
ΕΠΟΙΗΣΑΝΤΟΠΡΟΦΑ
ΚΑΙΛΙΤΑΝΕΥΙΝΑΥΤΟ
ΜΕΩΣΑΡΕΤΑΣΔΙΑΣΚΑ
ΔΙΥΜΝΩΔΙΑΣΠΡΟΣΟ
ΤΑΟΥΣΤΙΝΑΣΚΑΘΕΚΑ
ΦΑΝΩΜΕΝΟΥΣΘΑΛΛ
ΑΝΣΥΝΤΑΞΗΣΩΣΑΝ
ΠΟΙΗΣΙΕΝΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΣ
ΛΑΚΩΝΚΑΙΤΟΥΠΑΙΔΟ
ΡΕΣΕΩΣΤΑΞΙΝΚΑΙΘΡΙ
ΟΙΚΕΙΩΚΑΤΕΧΩΝΤΑΙΙ
ΔΗΜΕΙΟΙΠΑΙΔΟΦΥΛΑ
ΓΕΙΝΕΚΤΩΝΕΝΤΩΠΕΙ
ΜΝΟΝΤΗΘΕΩΚΑΘΩΣ
ΜΕΝΠΑΤΕΡΕΣΜΗΠΑΙ
ΛΙΑΣΗΛΑΙΣΗΣΑΝΒΟ
ΤΩΕΝ
ΗΟΗΠ

[ΥΣΙΟΥ]ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΣΒΟΥΛΗΣ
ΑΤΗΣΕΚΠΟΛΛΩΝΚΑΙΜΕΓΑΛΩΝΚΑΙΣΥΝΕΧΩΝ
ΙΤΗΣΤΩΝΚΥΡΙΩΝΡΩΜΑΙΩΝΑΙΩΝΙΟΥΑΡΧΗΣ
ΙΑΝΚΑΙΜΗΔΕΝΑΚΑΙΡΟΝΠΑΡΑΛΙΠΙΝΤΟΥΕΥΣΕΒΕΝ
ΕΣΤΑΤΑΣΠΑΡΕΧΟΝΤΑΤΗΣΘΕΙΑΣΔΥΝΑ
ΔΕΤΟΥΣΟΥΤΩΣΕΠΙΦΑΝΕΣΤΑΤΟΙΣΘΕΟΙΣΚΑΚΤΗΣ
ΝΥΝΕΚΤΩΝΕΥΓΕΓΟΝΟΤΩΝΠΑΙΔΑΣΤΡΙΑΚΟΝ
ΟΥΛΕΥΤΗΡΙΟΝΛΕΥΧΙΜΟΝΟΥΝΤΑΣΚΑΙΕΣΤΕ
ΙΚΙΘΑΡΙΣΤΟΥΚΑΙΚΗΡΥΚΟΣΑΣΟΝΤΑΙΥΜΝΟΝΟΝ
ΙΘΩΣΙΝΙΣΤΟΥΣΕΦΗΒΟΥΣΗΟΜΗΔΕΙΣΘΕΩΝ
ΝΕΠΙΤΗΝΑΥΤΗΝΥΜΝΩΔΙΑΝΤΩΝΠΑΙΔΟΦΥ
ΙΩΝΑΤΗΝΑΥΤΗΝΔΙΑΜΕΙΝΑΙΤΗΣΑΝΘΑΙ
ΝΤΙΝΕΣΑΥΤΩΝΜΗΩΣΙΝΥΓΙΕΙΣΗΠΕΝΘΙ
ΕΣΤΩΣΑΝΥΠΕΥΘΥΝΟΙΑΣΕΒΕΙΑΟΙΔΕ
ΝΓΕΙΝΟΜΕΝΟΝΙΕΡΕΑΤΗΣΕΚΑΤΗΣΚΑΤΑΛΕ
ΚΑΙΑΥΤΟΥΣΑΣΟΝΤΑΣΤΟΝΣΥΝΗΘΗΥ
ΩΝΚΑΙΚΑΤΑΥΤΩΝΤΩΝΠΑΙΔΩΝΕΑΝΟΙ
ΑΙΔΕΣΜΗΠΡΟΣΕΔΡΕΥΩΣΙΝΔΙΑΕΙΣΑΝΓΕ
ΚΟΥΕΥΝΟΥΧΟΥΤΑΟΝΟΜΑΤΑ
ΓΟΡΕΥΤΑΙΕΑΝΔΕΤΙΤΟΥΤΩΝΟΙΕΡΕΥΣ
ΓΔΑΣΤΟΝΔΕΤΩΝΠΑΙΔΩΝΜΕ
ΤΗΣΠΟΛΕΩΣ

ι μεγαλων και συνεχων
: των κυριων Ῥωμαιων αιωνιου αρχης
:αιρον παραλιπιν του ευσεβε[ι]ν
παρεχοντα της θειας δυνα-
βανεστατοις θεοις κἀκ της
ν παιδας τριακον-
ονουντας και εστε-
ύμνον, ὁν
μηδεις θεων
παιδοφυ-
νθαι-
θι

ύ-

ρευς

N.B.—Each of the difference of the type from the letters of the original inscription.

Note 81 and 82. At the patch, will needs the portion of the margin

[illegible]

[illegible]

[illegible]

No. 93.—By the side of the foregoing.

ΙΚΟΝΑ//ΟΙΤΗΝΕΧΟΥΣΑΝΙΟ/ΟΜΑΠ
ΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΤΟΝΜΕΝΠΑΙΔΟΝΟΜΟΝΑΝΑΝΑ
ΤΟΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΕΝΤΩΠΡΟΝΑΩΤΟΥΣΕΡΑΠΙΟΥ
ΠΑΙΔΙΚΗΤΟΝΔΕΙΕΡΗΑΤΗΣΘΕΟΥΑΝΑΣΤΗΣΑΙΣ
ΛΙΘΙΝΗΕΧΟΥΣΑΝΑΝΑΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΑΤΑΔΙΑΦ
ΤΑΤΟΥΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΤΟΣΕΝΤΩΙΕΡΩΤΗΘΕΟΥΑΝΑ
ΓΡΑΦΗΝΑΙΔΕΤΟΨΗΦΙΣΜΑΕΤΗΕΞΕΔΡΑΤΟΥΒΟΥΛΕΥ
ΤΗΡΙΟΥΕΝΔΕΞΙΑΠΡΟΣΤΗΝΑΙΩΝΙΟΝΔΙΑΜΟΝΗΝΤΗΣ
ΕΥΣΕΒΙΑΣΤΩΝΘΕΩΝΤΟΔΕΑΝΑΛ//Α/ΣΕΠΙΓΡΑ
ΦΗΣΕΞΟΔΙΑΣΘΗΝΑΙΥΠΟΤΩΝΕΠΙΣΤΑΤΩΝΤΟΥΒΟΥΛΕΥ
ΤΗΡΙΟΥ

Published by Boeckh, 2715 B, who reads thus :—

ικονα [γραπ]την εχουσαν το [ον]ομα ἑ-
αυτου, και τον μεν παιδονομον ανα[γρ]α[ψαι]
το ψηφισμα εν τω προναω του Σεραπιου,
παιδικη, τον δε ἱερηα της θεου αναστησαι σ[τη]λην
5 *λιθινην εχουσαν αναγεγραμμενα τα διαφ[ερον-]*
τα του ψηφισματος εν τω ἱερω τη[ς] θεου· ανα-
γραφηναι δε το ψηφισμα ε[ν] τη εξεδρα του βουλευ-
τηριου εν δεξια προς την αιωνιον διαμονην της
ευσεβιας των θεων· το δε αναλ[ωμ]α [τη]ς επιγρα-
10 *φης εξοδιασθηναι ὑπο των επιστατων του βουλευ-*
τηριου.

". . . . . a painted image, bearing his name, and the Pædonomus is to write the decree on [the wall of] the Pronaos, that for the use of the boys in the temple of Serapis; but the priest is to erect in the temple of the Goddess a stone column, having written on it the concerning passages of the decree. But the decree is to be written on [the walls of] the porch of the council-hall, on the right side, to the perpetual existence [remembrance?]

of the piety towards the gods. The expenses of the inscription to be borne by the Committee of the council-hall."

This inscription forms a sequel to the foregoing decree, which, we are informed, is to be written both on the walls of the portico of the temple of Serapis, and in the porch of the council-hall,—the locality in which the stones still are. In the temple of Hecate there is to be placed a column, having written on it not the whole decree, but only *τα διαφεροντα* (see *τα ἡμιν διαφεροντα*, Inscription 21), *i. e.* such passages of it as concern the temple (from line 15 of the preceding inscription).

No. 94.—Built into a wall.

ΚΑΤΑΣΝΓΕΡΤΩΝΔΗΜΟΣΙΩΝ◢
ΓΟΛΕΩΣΚΑΡΦΙΣΜΟΝΤΙΝΩΝΑΝ◢
ΓΩΜΕΝΦΟΡΟΛΟΓΕΙΝΤΗΝΑ◢
ΣΙΝΗΜΕΙΝΜΕΝΑΝΙΣΩΣΗΕΦ◢
ΝΑΤΟΣΔΕΑΝΟΜΩΣΚΑΚΕΙ◢
ΤΟΥΣΔΗΜΟΣΙΑΙΚΥΡΙΟΥΣΜ◢
ΔΗΜΟΣΙΩΝΥΓΟΚΕΙΜΕΝ◢
ΕΙΝΤΟΥΣΕΝΟΣΕΚΑΣΤΟΥ◢
ΘΕΛΟΙΕΝΤΗΣΓΟΛΕΩΣΟΥΑ◢
ΛΗΣΤΗΑΣΕΡΕΙΓΙΩΝΕΤΟΙΜΩΣΔ◢
ΓΡΟΔΑΝΕΙΣΜΟΙΣΙΔΙΩΝΤΩΝΙΕ◢
ΤΩΟΥΝΑΤΟΥΤΟΙΑΘΥΓΑΛΛΑΓΗ◢

This fragment may be read thus:—

κα[ι] τας ὑπερ των δημοσιων
πολεως καρφισμον τινων ανα
πω μεν φορολογειν την α
σιν ἡμειν μεν ανισως η εφ
5 *[μ]ατος δε ανομως κακει*

τους δημοσιῳ κυριους
δημοσιων ὑποκειμεν
ειν τους ἑνος ἑκαστου
θελοιεν της πολεως ου λ
10 λησι[ει]ας ερειπιων ἑτοιμως
προδανεισμοις ιδιων των ἱε
. . . . . ὑπαλλαγη.

No. 95. Page 84.—On a stone like an altar.

Published by Boeckh, 2716, from Sherard's transcript, which, line 2, has **ΣΙΛΙΝΟΝ**, changed by Boeckh into Σιληνιον; and both **ΚΩΡΑΖΙΔΑ** and **ΚΩΡΑΙΕΩΣ**, like ours. The correct form of the *ethnicum* of Corasa would be Κωρασις and Κωρασευς; but in two other inscriptions (Boeckh, 2725, 2728), there seem rather to be confirmed the above irregular forms. The names of several localities in Caria terminate in *sa*: Mylasa, Bargasa, Pedasa, Corasa, Plarasa, Harpasa, besides Corbasa (town of Pisidia).

No. 96. Page 83.—On a square pedestal.

There are other instances of the termination *ιον* in the names of females being contracted into *ιν*: Ελευθεριν, Boeckh, 506, 704. Μαρτυριν, Ερωτιν, Osann. Sylloge, p. 437.

No. 97. Page 83.—In the wall, on a stone like an altar.

The name of Labranda is derived from *Labrys*, the Lydian word for the sacrificial axe of Jupiter (see woodcut on page 75,

and Mus. Phil. Cantab., I. p. 114). The simplest form of the *ethnicum* is ΛΑΡΑΝΔΕΩΝ (Osann. Sylloge, p. 463), showing that the *β* of the common *Λαβρανδεων* had originally a soft sound, like the digamma (we may compare the Æolic *βροδον* instead of *ροδον*, and the digammated *ρατρα* of the Elean inscription). Further insertions appear in ΛΑΜΒΡΑΥΝΔΗΣ (Boeckh, 2691, 2780), ΛΑΒΡΑΥΝΔΗΣ (2750), and the present ΛΑΒΡΑΙΝΔΙΣ, unless the transcript is wrong in writing ΑΙΝΔΙΣ instead of the above more common form.

No. 98.—On part of a frieze.

ΟΡΙΚΑΦΣ
ΔΗΣΔΙΟΝΥ

HOOLAH.

No. 99. Page 88.—On a marble block.

The inscription may be read thus:—

Διονυσιου Ανταγορα Ροδιου, Μενεστρατη,
Διονυσιου, Ροδια, του πατρος και Αρτεμισια κα[ι]
Ἡδιστη, Διονυσιου, Ροδιαι, του παππου και Δ[ι]ονυ-
σιος Μενεκρατους Ροδ. του πατρος της γυν[αικος]
. . . . . .
[μνεια]ς ἑνεκ[α].

TELMESSUS.

No. 100. Page 108.—On a pedestal, built into a wall near the sea, and partly under ground.

The inscription may be read thus:—

Μαρκος Αυρη. Ἑρμαγορας ὁ
και Ζωσιμος, ὁ υἱος Μαρκ. Αυρ.
Ἑρμαγορα, δις Μαρωνος του Δι-
οφανους, Τελμησσευς.
5 Νεικησας το δια παντων
προκλησαμενων αγενειων
πανκρατιον, την τεταρτην θε-
μιν, αγωνοθετουντος δια βιου
του αξιολογωτατου Λυκιαρχου
10 Μαρ. Δομ. Φιλιππου [?] Τελμησ-
σεως.

Line 5 is restored from other agonistic inscriptions, Boeckh, 232, 1585, 1586, 1719, etc., in which νεικησαι δια παντων, or κατα παντων, or εκ παντων, probably means, that a person was victorious in the contest with all those who had previously won victories. This is also implied by a glossa in the Lex. Seg., p. 91, δια παντων αγων λεγεται ὁ εσχατος. The προκλησαμενῶν of line 6 I can find in no other inscription: we have a προς δισκον προκλησις in Maccab. II. 4, 14, and εκκαλεσασθαι, which can scarcely have had a different meaning, we find in several agonistic inscriptions, for instance in the following passage from Gruter, page 317, 1, μητε εκκαλεσαμενος, μητ' ἑτερου κατ' εμου τολμησαντος εκκαλεσασθαι. Θεμις, lines 7 and 8, seems to stand for the usual θεμα, whence αγωνες θεματικοι. We read it in an inscription copied by Captain Beaumont, at Sida in Pamphylia, ... και επιτελουντος θεμιν Παμφυλιακην. See Walpole's Travels, p. 552, where a coin of

Aspendus in Pamphylia is quoted (Mionnet. Descr. d. Med. III. p. 449), with the inscription, Θεμιδος το Ε. This serves to explain the τεταρτη θεμις of line 7.

To have a clearer idea of the various particulars connected with the honorary distinctions which were conferred at the ancient gymnastic festivals, we may call to mind the regulations and foundations made for a similar purpose at our colleges and literary institutions.

No. 101. Page 107.—Side of door of Roman-like tomb.

May be read thus:—

Ἑλενη ἡ και
Αφφιον, Νασο-
νος του Διο-
γενους, Τελ-
5 μησσις, το μνη-
μειον κατεσκευασεν
ἑαυτη και οἰς αυ-
τη ενεθαψεν, Απολ-
λωνιδη δ, υἱω αυτης
10 και Ἑλενη, τη και Αφφι-
ω, εγγονη αυτης· αλλω δε
μηδενι εξειναι, εν τω
πυργισκω τεθηναι, με-
τα το ενταφηναι αυτην·
15 επει ὁ θεις τινα ασε-
βης εστω θεοις κατα[χ-]
θονιοις και εκτος
οφειλετω τω Τελ-
μησσεων δη-
20 μω ✠ Ε.

Published by Dr. Clarke, Travels, vol. iii. p. 306, with trans-

lation and notes by the late eminent Prof. Porson, who maintained that the inscription was older than Ol. 100 (381–377 before our æra). This is doubted by Prof. H. J. Rose, Inscrip. Græc. Vetust., p. 318, especially on the ground that the characteristic iota of the dative, which is nowhere to be seen in the inscription, was scarcely ever missed before the above period. There are, besides, other reasons justifying the opinion that the inscription was written in Roman times.

Line 2, Dr. Clarke's transcript has ΙΑΕΟΝΟΕ. On the stone, the letter which begins this word and the one at the end of the preceding are joined into a monogram, which presents two N's. Line 7, Porson reads *και οψε αυτην ενεθαψεν*; but the reading given above, *και οἷς αυτη ενεθαψεν*, appears distinctly in our transcript. Οἷς, which by the usual *attraction* stands instead of *τουτοις οἷς*, is quite in accordance with the dative Απολλωνιδη, and the reading is altogether more simple than the other. The δ after Απολλωνιδη being distinct in both transcripts, may be taken as signifying *τετρακις* (see Αυρηλια Αμμιας Ζηνωνος δ, Boeckh, 2774); the genitive which usually follows these adverbs being left out, since Apollonides' four ancestors had the same name (see Inscription 89). Line 20, Dr. Clarke, instead of our ͵Ε, *i. e.* 5000, according to the general rules of Greek numeration, has ΙΕ, which would make the fine only 15 denaria.

No. 102.—On the side of a door of a Roman-like tomb.

ΟΝΗΕΦΟΡΟΕΛ
ΑΙΕΤΟΥΑΛΕΞΑ
ΑΡΟΥΤΟΝΠΥΡΠ
ΕΚΟΝΤΟΥΤΟΝΚΑ
ΤΕΣΚΑΥΛΕΝΕ
ΑΥΤΩΥΔΓΗΓΥ
ΝΑΙΔΥΙΔΑΜ
ΜΙΑΛΓΑΘΩΝΥΜΘ

ΚΑΥΤΟΙϹΤΕΚΝΟΙϹ
ΚΑΙΓΟΙϹϹΥΓΓΕ
ΝΕΕΙΝΟΝΗΣΙ

"Onesphorus . . ., grandson of Alexander, has built this turret [*i. e.* tomb] for himself and his wife Ammias, the daughter of Agathonymus, and his children, and the kinsfolk of Onesphorus."

The translation takes the last two lines as ΚΑΙ ΤΟΙΣ ΣΥΓΓΕΝΕΣΙΝ ΟΝΗΣ*φορου*.

No. 103.—On a rock-tomb.

ΑΡΙϹΤΕΙΔΟΥΤΟΥ ΑΝΑΚΤΟϹ
ΚΑΙΤΩΝΚΑΗΥ ΟΜΙΝΑΥΤΟΥ

Αριστείδου, του Ανακτος
και των κλη[ρον]ομων [?] αυτου.

Published by Dr. Clarke, Travels, vol. iii. p. 317, with line 2 less perfect.

Ανακτος, unless it be a proper name, may give rise to some speculations, ascribed as it is to a name borne by the illustrious Athenian, and also by a celebrated orator who lived in the times of the Antonines, Ælius Aristides. The Greeks, after Homer, called a king *βασιλευς*, never *αναξ*. See Biagi Mus. Nanian, p. 186. We learn from a fragment of Aristotle's Politiæ preserved by Harpocration (see Casaub. ad Athenæ. VI. p. 257), that in Cyprus the sons and brothers of the *βασιλευς* were called *ανακτες*. Eurip. Hippol., 966, Orpheus is called *αναξ* of the philosophers, and generally this word may have been used to signify something *princely*.

No. 104.

ΤΟΔΕΤΟϹΗΜΑΕϹΤΙΝ

"This monument is . . . . . ." Σημα occurs in no other of our inscriptions.

No. 105.—On a rock-tomb.

ΤΟΜΝΗ
ΜΑΙΑΣΟ
ΝΟΣΙΚΘΟ
ΟΔΟΤΟΥ
ΤΩΝΣΑΤ
ΟΥ

May be read thus:—

Το μνημα Ιασονος . . . . . Θ[ε]οδοτου [και?] των ἑατου.

"The monument of Iaso, son [?] of Theodotus, and his family."

ΕΑΤΟΥ, instead of ΕΑΥΤΟΥ, appears in another inscription copied by Col. Leake in the ruins of Ascæphia. Mus. Crit. Cantab., v. ii. f. 8. p. 586. Boeckh, 1625.

No. 106.—On the door of a Roman-like tomb.

ΣΙΕΥΛΣΗΝΓΟΙΙ△△ΜΕΙΟΝΤΟΥΤΟΕΥΦΡΟΣ
△Α△ΙΝΟΥ△ΤΩΦΕΚΑΙ△ΩΣΙΜΩΚΑΙΦΙΛΑΡΓΕ
ΚΑΙΑΕΛΙΑΚΑΙΠΡΕΙΜΑΙΗΚΑΙΕΥΦΝΗΙΑΤΟΙΣΕΥΦ
ΣΥΝΟΥΚΑΟΙΕΕΕΑΥΤΟΥΝ

May be read thus:—

. . . . κατεσκευασεν το [μνη]μειον τουτο Ευφροσ[υνος]
. . . . ινου [ἑαυ]τω τε και [Ζ]ωσιμω και Φιλαργε[τη?]
και Αιλια και Πρειμαιη και Ε[ιρ]ηνια, τοις Ευφ[ρο-]
συνου κα[ι] [τ]οις εξ αυτουν.

"Euphrosynus, son of . . . . . ., has built this monument for himself, and Zosimus, and Philargetes, and Ælia, and Primæa, and Irenia, the children of Euphrosynus, and their offspring."

Αυτουν, instead of αυτων, if I am right in reading the last line, is very remarkable.

No. 107.—On the mullion of a rock-tomb.

ΔΙΝΤΔΔΔΔ
ΔΕΙΟΝΔΙΟΔ
ΔΝΤΟΥΤΟΥ
ΕΟΔΔΡΛΙΔ
ΔΗΜΗΣΙΔΔ
ΔΛΙΑΑΔΔ
ΔΔΤΗΣΔΔ
ΔΔΙΟΥΔΔ
ΙΩΝΤΔΔΔ
ΝΔΔΔΔΔ
ΚΑΙΔΔΔ
ΓΩΥΘΙΔΔ
Μ'ΛΙΕΟΔΔ
ΕΡΜΕΜΔΔ
ΤΟΥΣΓΔΔ
ΜΕΡΟΙΜΗ
ΦΟΚΡΑΤΥ
ΑΗΣΣΕΙΣΣ
ΠΑΠΟΜΔ
ΓΗΔΕΥΘΗ
ΗΜΙΟΤΟΔ
ΤΟΤΟΥΔΔ
ΔΟΥΔΝΔΔ

In the last line but four we may read κηδευθη, which shows that this inscription, probably a fragment, is funereal.

No. 108.—On the side of the portico of an Ionic rock-tomb.

ΠΡΟΙΜΑΔΙΟΝΔΝΔ
ψΗΚΑΙΔΔΔΡΔΔΔ

ΣΙΑΕΡΜΑΔΔΔΙΙΑΝΟ
ΤΟΝΥΟΝΑΥΙΙΟΗΡΟΟ
ΝΑΜΝΗΜΗΔΗΙΔΝΔ

In the last line there seems to be *μνημης χαριν*, "for the sake of remembrance."

No. 109.—Built into the wall of the castle, near the door.

ΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΟΣ
ΑΓΑΘΟΠΟΔΟΣΤΗ
ΜΗΣΕΕΥΣΕΛΛΙΟΝ
ΣΥΝΥΩΡΗΣΩΟΛΡΘ
ΑΔΙΔΝΕΟΣΤΟΥΕΙΙΜ
ΝΑΙΟΥΤΟΥΤΟΤΟΝΦ

ΜΕΙΟΝΝΚΑΙΠΑΡΑΚΑ
ΩΤΑΤΕΚΝΑΜΟΙΘ

ΝΑΙΕΝΕΜΕΤΑΔΕΤΗΑ
ΕΜΗΝΤΕΛΕΥΤΗΝΕΙ
ΝΑΙΤΗΝΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΝΙ
ΩΝΤΕΚΝΩΝΜΟΥΕΔ
ΙΛΤΕΤΙΣΤΟΥΤΩΝΔ
ΛΔΤΗΣΕΙΓΕΔΥΤΟΥ
ΚΟΙΙΙΗΣΤΚΙΝΝΗ
ΩΕΕΝΤΙΜΟΑΡ
ΩΡΗΣΗΕΕ
ΠΙΤΗΕΨΗΙΕΘΗΗΝ
ΝΝΟΕΤΙΣΑΝΑΥΤΩ
ΠΑΡΑΔΤΥΔΔΔΔΔ
ΙΝΩΜΗΝΟΕΤΩΙΗ
ΠΟΛΕΙΔΗΝΑΡΑΙΑΝ

The inscription can be read but imperfectly. At the beginning, *Επαφροδειτος*, *Αγαθοποδος*, *Τελμησσευς*; line 7—12,

[μνη]μειον, και παρακαλω τα τεκνα μου θεναι εμε μετα δε την εμην τελευτην ειναι την εξουσιαν των τεκνων μου; lines 17 and 18, [συνχ]ωρηση επιτρεψη; at the end, τη πολει δηναραια ν. This shows the inscription to be funereal; in line 3, however, we cannot but read ελαιον συνχωρησω, which, unless we take ελαιον (*oil*) for a dialectic form of ελαιων (*olive-grove*), is totally unintelligible. The letters ΟΑΡΘ (line 4) are the only ones which have on the stone their common round shape, all the other Ο and Θ being square.

No. 110.—On a pedestal in the wall.

ΠΟΛΕΜΩΛΛ
ΑΣΩΝΑΦΑΡΝΑΙΟΥ
ΩΛΟΣΣΓΑΣΩ
ΟΝΕΑΥΤΟΥΠ
ΚΑΙΜΕΡΙΜΑΥΑΣΑΜΑΥΣΔΟ
ΤΟΝΕΑΥΤΗΣΑΝΔΡΑ
ΗΑΟΣΤΟΡΓΙΑΣΣΝΒΕΟΝ
ΤΗΣΕΙΣΑΟ

The stone being cemented in several places, the inscription was copied with great difficulty. In the last line but three we have τον ἑαυτης ανδρα; in the following there seems to be ἡδιστον . . . . . συνβιον, which shows the inscription to be funereal.

No. 111.—On a rock-tomb.

ΑΝΤΙ
ΦΙΧΟΥ
ΟΙΣΤΟΥ
ΦΑΡΝΑ
ΚΟΥ
ΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝ

"The monument of Antiphichus [Antiochus?], twice [*i. e.* grandson] of Pharnaces."

The letter beginning line 3, is taken as Δ.

No. 112.—On a rock-tomb.

ΔΙΟΤΕΙΜΟΥΤΟΥ
ΤΛΗΠΟΛΕΜΟΥΚΑΙ
ΑΙΟΤΕΙΜΟΥΔΙϹΤΟΥ
ΤΛΗΠΟΛΕΜΟΥΠΡΟΓΟΝΙΚΟΝ

"The hereditary tomb of Diotimus, son of Tlepolemus, and of Diotimus, grandson of Tlepolemus."

Published by Dr. Clarke, Travels, III. p. 316, who refers to Maffei Mus. Veron. 59, for an explanation of the [ἡρωον] προγονικον.

No. 113.—On a rock-tomb.

ΤΟΥΤΟΜΝ△△△△ ΠΡΟϹΟΝ△ΚΟΝ\'Ε△Τ△
ΚΑΙΛΥΚΑΙΥ

May be partly read thus: τουτο μνημειον προγονικον εστι . . . . και Λυκαι[ο]υ. "The family-tomb of . . . . and Lycæus."

No. 114.—On a rock-tomb.

ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥΚΛΑΥΔΙ
ΥΠΕΡΓΑΜΟΥ

Published by Dr. Clarke, l. c., who has an O at the beginning of line 2.

"[The tomb] of Tiberius Claudius Pergamus."

No. 115.—On a rock-tomb

ΕΤΟΥΣΞΜΗΝΟΣΛΩΟΥΑ
ΠΑΤΗΙΤΟΥΤΟΔΟΚΕΝΗΙΠΟΛΙΣ

May perhaps be read thus:—

ετους ξ̄, μηνος Λωου δ[ε]
[κ]ατη, τουτο δ[ω]κεν ἡ . . πολις.

"In the year 60, on the tenth of the month Lous, has the city given this."

The name of Lous is to be found in several almanacs of Asia, and also in that of the Macedonians, in which it is given to the tenth month, of thirty-one days, beginning on June 24. The æra of this date cannot be ascertained. It seems not to be the Æra Seleucidarum, which was the principal one in Syria, beginning 313 before Christ. Beside this, and the Æra Pompejana (from 63 or 62 B.C.), Cæsariana (47 or 46 B.C.), Actiaca (30 B.C.), there were in the different cities of Syria, and no doubt of Roman Asia generally, different Æras of minor repute, beginning from the years in which the cities had severally been declared free by the Romans. (See Eckhel, D.N. IV. 399. Ideler Handb. d. Chronolog., I. p. 457.) We may thus begin the Lycian æra with the year 169 B.C., when the country was, by a decree of the Roman Senate, emancipated from the dominion of the Rhodians (Liv. XLIV. 16. Appian. Syr. 44.), or with the year 83 B.C., when Lycia was again declared free and an ally of the Roman nation by Sylla (Appian. Mithridat. 61.).

No. 116.—On a sarcophagus, by the side of a bas-relief.

Published by Dr. Clarke, Travels, III. p. 306, who reads ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟ in line 2. The only words which we may decipher with any certainty, both from his and our transcript, are in line 3 [πρ]οεστη α[γ]ων[ων]; in line 4 there may be τα καλλιστα.

CADYANDA.

No. 117. Page 122.—On a tomb.

This funereal inscription may partly be read thus:—

το μνημειον κατεσκευασ[εν . . . . . .]
εαυτη και θυγατρι και εγ[γονοις και τοις εξ εγγο-]
νων μου γεννηθησομενοις· καλω . . . .
εαν δε τις εις βιασηται . . . αποτεισει Κ[αδ]υανδεων
5 *τω δημω ϡ φ.*

The **ΚΑΛΩ** of line 3 seems to be similar to the **ΠΑΡΑΚΑΛΩ** of inscription 109; in which we have also the pronoun of the first person.

No. 118.—On a tomb.

ΑΡΤΕΜΩΝΑΡΤΕΙΜΟΥΤΟΥΔΗΜΗ
ΤΡΙΟΥΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ

"Artemo, son of Artimus, the son of Demetrius, has built it."

No. 119.—On the same.

Τ/ΛΛ/ΟΝΚΟΙΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝΙ
Π/Λ/ΚΟΣΑΥΤΟΚΑΠΕΚ/ΚΑΙΛΛΙΥ/ΙΚΙΑ
ΦΙΛ/Λ/ΚΑΙΤΥΝΑΙΚΙΑΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΤΕΚΝΟΙ/ΙΓΘΟ
ΕΣ/Λ/ΤΜΚΑΙΩΙΤΠΤΑΝΩΑΥΤΟΥΟΝΙΙΟΙΩΚΑΙ
ΤΩΣΕΣΑΥΤΟΥΓΕΙΩΔΕΟΥΛΕΝΙ

May partly be read thus:—

το[μνημει]ον κ[ατ]εσκευασεν
. . . κος αυτω και τεκνοις [?] και γυναικι αυτου και . . .
φιλ[ω] και γυναικι αυτου και τεκνοις . . . .
. . . . και τω εγγονω αυτου ὁμοιω[ς] και
το[ι]ς εξ αυτου· αλλω [?] δε ουδενι.

In line 2, if the conjecture be right, the children are mentioned before the wife, which is extraordinary; then another person, who shared in the property of the tomb, may have been mentioned, whose offspring is spoken of in the last lines.

No. 120.—On a tomb.

ΖΩΜΕΝ

ΣΟΣΟΥΣΕΙΝΟΛΥΚΟΥΚΑ
ΔΞ ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΖΕΠΤΟΜΙ
ΜΕΙΟΙΕΑΥΤΗΚΙΤΟΙΔΔΑΥ
ΤΔΔΚΑΙΤΔΣ¯ΟΝΣΥ
ΦΙΑΗΤΩΚΑΙΔΙΟΝΗΚΑΙΤΗΟΣ
ΜΟΥΙΑΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔΔ
ΜΟΥΚΑΙΕΝΩΝΙΕΤΕΟΣΣΔΔΔΔ
ΕΠΩΓΣ
ΤΑΥΤΑΠΔΙΗΕΗ ΕΑΝΔΕΤΙΣΠΑΡΑ
ΕΣΤΩΘΕΟΣΥΦΝΛΙΟΝΚΑΙΘΣΦΙΣΚΑΤΑΚΤΟΝΙΟΙΣΧΣΕΡΚΣ

May partly be read thus:—

Ζωμεν[η]
. . . . . *Ἑρμολυκου*
. . . . . *κατεσκευασεν το μ[νη-]*
μειον ἑαυτη κ[α]ι τοι[ς τεκνοις αυ-]
5 *τ[ης] και τοις . . . . . .*
Φιλητω και Διονη και τοις [εξ εκγονων?]
μου . . . .
μου και Ζηνωνι . . . [και οἰς αν επιτρεψω?]
εγωγε
10 . . . . . *Εαν δε τις παρα*
ταυτα ποιηση
εστω θεοις ουρανιοις [?] και θεοις καταχθονιοις ασεβης.

The monument is built by a woman, a relation of Hermolycus, "in her lifetime, for herself and her children and . . .

Philetus and Dione." In line 8, after the name of Zeno [?], there may be the same name as at the beginning of line 2; the inscription seems to close with the usual declarations (see, for instance, Nos. 109 and 121, and inscription on page 143): "and those to whom I may give leave myself; but if any one acts against this, be he impious unto the heavenly gods and unto the gods of hell." The inscription, which was copied with great difficulty, is written on the projecting parts of the door-frame: thus the explanation may be justified for taking lines 10 and 11 in an order different from that appearing in the transcript.

No. 121.—On a tomb.

ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝΤΟΥΤΟΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝΕΠΑΓΑ
ΘΟΣΚΡΑΤΕΡΟΥΕΑΥΤΩΚΑΙΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΚΑΙΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΚΑΙ
ΤΟΙΣΕΞΑΥΤΩΝΤΕΚΝΟΙΣΓΕΝΗΣΑΜΕΝΟΙΣΜΗΔΕΝΙ
ΔΕΕΞΕΣΤΩΕΝΘΑΨΑΙΗΘΕΙΝΑΙΕΙΣΤΟΥΤΟΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝΕΚΤΟΣ
ΕΑΝΜΗΑΥΤΟΣΕΓΩΕΠΙΤΡΕΨΩΕΑΝΔΕΤΙΣΠΑΡΑΤΑΥΤΑΒΙΑΣΗΤΑΙ
ΑΠΟΤΕΙΣΕΙΤΩΚΑΔΥΑΝΔΕΩΝΔΗΜΩΔΗΝΑΡΙΑΧΕΙΛΙΑ

"Epagathus, son of Craterus, has built this monument for himself and his wife and his children, and the children born of them; but nobody shall be allowed to bury or put [another] into this monument, except when I shall permit it myself. But if any one shall use violence against this, he shall pay to the People of the Cadyandeans a thousand denaria."

The phrase εκτος εαν μη (lines 4 and 5) is remarkable. See εκτος ει μη, Boeckh, 2825.

HOORAHN. (MASSICYTUS?)

No. 122. Page 123.

No. 123.—In a wall.

ΚΡΑΙ
ΟΣΛΙΚΠ
ΠΑΡΑΦΥ
ΟΣΥ

No. 124. Page 125.—On a round pedestal, dug out of the road near Hoorahn.

The inscription may be read thus:—

Αυρηλιος Σ[τε-]
φανος τοις το[υ]
πατρος αυτου δαι-
μοσι.

5 *Αυρ. Στεφανος*
Ἑρμολυκου
κατεσκευα-
σεν και επε-
γραψεν. Μετα
10 *το ενταφηνε* [?]
εμε εις την ο-
στοθηκην [?].

. . . . . ει τις
. . . . . τινα
[αποτει]σει
. . . . . .

The word *οστοθηκη* (line 12) occurs in an inscription from Stratoniceia, Boeckh, 2731; another inscription, written in two columns, from Aphrodisias, *ibid.* 2838.

No. 125. Page 124.

TLOS.

No. 126.—On a small pedestal.

ΤΛΩΕΩΝΩΙΝΗΟΙΚΑΜΕΣΡΟΥΓΙΑΡΑΙΣΑ
ΘΕΟΝΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝΤΟΝΨΤΙΣΠΙΜΓΝΤΟΣ
ΕΜΟΥ

May be read thus:—

Τλωεων οἱ νεοι και ἡ γερουσια Καισα[ρα]
θεον σεβαστον, τον [κ]τισ[την] μεγιστον [?]
[του δη]μου.

"The young men and the Elders [Gerusia] of Tlos [honour, probably by erecting a statue,] Cæsar Augustus, the God, the great patron of the People [?]."

Κτιστης, which properly means a founder, is not usually joined to δημου; if the above reading is right, we must take the word in the sense indicated by the translation.

No. 127.—Over a gateway.

ᴗΟΘΗΕΠΙΤΟΥΛΑΗΠΡΟΚΑΙΘΑΥΜ·ΗΓΕΜ
ΦΑ·ΚΛ·ΕΠΟΥΔ·ΜΑΡΚΕΙΑΝΟΥ

May be read thus:

. . . . θη επι του λαμπρο[τατου] και θαυμ[αστου] ἡγεμ[ονος]
Φλ. Κασσιου Δ[εκιου?] Μαρκειανου.

"[The gate? was erected] under the most splendid and admirable governor, Flavius Cassius Decius [?] Marcianus."

Published in Mr. Fellows' Journal, p. 239, where in line 2 we have ΚΛ instead of ΚΛ·.

No. 128.—Built into a wall, the stone broken.

ΕΝΠΡΗΤΑΝΕΙΩΙΑΝΔΡΑΛΓΑΘΟΝΕΕ
ΕΟΝΘΤΑΝΑΙΔΙΑΠΡΟΕΟΝΩΝΕΥΕΡΓΕ
ΤΗΝΤΟΥΔΗΜΟΥΚΑΝΤΟΛΛΑΤΩΝ
ΝΜΦΣΡΟΝΤΩΝΚΑΙΤΑΜΕΓΝΤΑ
ΡΟΣΔΟΞΑΝΚΑΤΕΡΡΑΣΜΕΝΟΝ
ΩΙΔΗΜΩΙΚΑΙΤΩΙΛΥΚΙΩΝΕΟΝΕΙ
ΜΕΝΤΟΙΣΠΟΛΕΜΟΙΣΕΤΑΝΔΒΩΣ
ΓΩΝΙΣΑΜΕΝΟΝΚΑΙΑΡΙΣΤΕΥΣΑΝ
ΤΑΚΑΙΔΙΑΤΗΙΗΣΑΝΤΑΤΟΥΣΤ ΕΙΝΟ
ΜΟΥΣΚΑΙΤΗΝΓΑΤΝΟΝ Δ ΟΚΡΑΤΙ
ΑΝΦΑΗΕΡΑΤΕΜΟΝΛΛ ΔΙΑΒΤΟΥΓΡΟΠΟ
ΙΛΟΔΟΞΩΣΚΑΙΜΙ
ΕΛΛΟΜΕΡΩΣΚΑΙΕΝΠΑΣΗΤΗΙΠΟΛΕΙ
ΤΕΙΑΚΑΙΚΑΚΟΓΑΘΟΙΣΚΑΙΕΓΙΤΥΧΩΙΣ
ΚΑΙΔΙΚΑΙΚΩΣΑΝΑΣΤΡΕΦΟΜΕΝΟΝ

The inscription may partly be read thus:—

εν πρηταneιω ανδρα αγαθον τε
εοντα [κ]αι δια προγονων ευεργε-
την του δημου, και πολλα των
[σ]υμφεροντων και τα μεγιστα
5 *[π]ρος δοξαν κατεργασμενον*
[τ]ω δημω και τω Λυκιων εθνει·
[εν] μεν τοις πολεμοις επανδρως
[α]γωνισαμενον και αριστευσαν-
τα και διατηρησαντα τους τε νο-
10 *μους και την . . . . δ[ημ]οκρατι-*
αν φανερα . . . . δια βιου . . . .
. . . . . [φι]λοδοξως και με-
γαλομερως και εν παση τη πολει-
τεια . . . καλοκαγαθως και επιτυχως
15 *και δικαιως αναστρεφομενον.*

"[It was resolved to honour] in the Prytaneum ....., being a good man, and, like his ancestors, a benefactor of the People; having done us considerable services, and the greatest things towards his honour among the People and the Lycian nation; having in the wars contested manfully, and excelled, and observed the laws and ..... democracy ....., and [functioned] gloriously and liberally, and conducted himself in the commonwealth honourably and fortunately and righteously."

Πρηταneιον instead of πρυτανειον is not found elsewhere: to substitute η for υ is enumerated by Sturz (De Dial. Maced., p. 121) among the peculiarities of the Alexandrian dialect, and the Etym. M. p. 608, declares νηος instead of νυος to be Æolic.

No. 129.—In a wall.

ΑΚΔΗΜΑΡΚΟΣΙΣΤΟ◢ΙΙΙ
ΛΗΤΗΝΟΔΩΝΗΓΕΜΟΝΑΛΞ
ΕΚΚΑΙΔΕΚΑΤΗΣΦΛΑΥΙΑΣΦΙΡ
ΕΚΤΗΣΣΙΔΗΡΑΣΕΠΑΕΥΟΗΛ
ΣΤΡΑΤΙΩΤΙΚΟΥΠΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΗΡΟ
ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓΟΝΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΟΣΛΥΚΑΙ
ΚΑΙΠΑΚΦΥΑΙΑΣΑΣΝΩΔΙΚΑΙΟΔΟΤΙ
ΤΛΩΕΩΝΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΗΓΕΡΟΥΣΙΑ
ΚΑΙΟΔΚΜΟΥ

The inscription may partly be read thus:—

..... [επιμε-]
λητην οδων, ηγεμονα λε[γεωνος]
εκκαιδεκατης Φλαυιας Φιρ[μης],
εκ της Σιδηρας, επα[ρχον] ευθην[ιας]
5 στρατιωτικο[ν] πρεσβευτη[ν],
στρατηγον Αυτοκρατορος Λυκια[ς]
και Παμφυλιας. Ἁγνω δικαιοδοτη
Τλωεων ἡ βουλη και ἡ γερουσια
και ὁ δημος.

". . . . . a Commissioner of roads, Commander of the sixteenth legion, Flavia Firma, and the sixth, Ferrata, Inspector of the supply of corn, Military Legate, Imperial Governor of Lycia and Pamphylia. To the upright administrator of justice, the Council and the Elders and the People of the Tlœans."

The Roman governor, to whom the corporation of Tlos paid their gratitude, had formerly been *Curator Viarum* (line 2) and *Præfectus Annonæ* (line 4). The former office, to judge from many Roman and some Greek (for instance, Chandler, p. 92, vii.) inscriptions, was conferred on young men of good family; the latter, which was certainly one of great trust, is less frequently mentioned. There was an *επαρχος ευθηνειας* in Egypt, the great granary of Rome; and the word *ευθηνια*, which properly means abundance, is seen on several coins of that country: an *επιμελητης ευθηνιας* we have in an inscription published by Chandler, p. 81 (see Osann Sylloge Inscr., p. 430). The sixteenth legion, named (probably by Vespasian or Domitian) Flavia Firma, had at the time of the death of Augustus, and long afterwards, their quarters in Germany. A sixth legion was for a long time stationed in Britain; but it was the Leg. VI. Victrix; whilst the one mentioned in our inscription, the Leg. VI. Ferrata, was chiefly occupied in the Orient. (See Brotier ad Tacit., H. II. 6.)

When the Emperor Claudius took from the cities of Lycia their autonomy, the country was made a province, together with Pamphylia, to be governed, as the Emperor's own, by a *Legatus Augustalis* (Dio Cassius, LX. p. 676; Sueton. Claud., c. 25). Governors of Lycia and Pamphylia are mentioned, Murator, 317, 1; Gruter, p. 458, 6; 491, 12. The office of *δικαιοδοτης*, *Juridicus* (line 7), is mentioned chiefly at Alexandria; two other inscriptions, copied by Mr. Fellows at Tlos (Journal, pp. 238, 239), give the names of two persons entrusted with it in this town, Julius Marinus and Domitius Apollinarius; the son of the latter seems to have served in the Legio XVI. Flavia Firma, just as the unknown person spoken of in the present inscription.

No. 130. Page 133.—On a rock-tomb.

Ζη[σαντι.] Το ἡρωον κατεσκευασεν Ζωσιμος
Νεικητικου, β του Λυσανιου, Τλωευς, ἑαυτω και
τεκνοις και γυναικι και τοις εξ αυτου και ὡ αν εν-
γραφως συνχωρηση. Εαν δε τις διχα του συνχω-
5 ρησαι τον κατεσκευακοτα Ζωσιμον θυη
τινα, οφειλησει τω ἱερωτατω ταμει-
ω επιτειμιον ✱ ,Αφ. Εαν δε συνχω-
ρηση τινι ὁ κατεσκευακως Ζωσιμος ἐ-
ξει εξουσιαν ὁ λαβων το συνχωρημα
10 ο[ὑ]ς αν βουληται θαπτειν.

No. 131. Page 135.—On a rock-tomb.

The inscription may partly be read thus:—

[αρχιερειας?] Ασιης, [Αλ]εξανδρον β του Διονυσιου,
δεδομενου [συ]νχωρηματος κυρειας . . . . . .
. . . . . επι αρχιερεως Καισιανου
. . . . ὑπο πολλων, Θυτου και Ει[ρ]ηναιου
5 . . . . τεθαπται [Αλ]εξανδρος, β του Διονυσιου, ὁ πατηρ
και υἱος Αλεξανδρος, Ειρηναιου· ταφησεται δε και αυτη και
ὁ ανηρ αυτης,
[Ει]ρηναιος Σω[σι]βιους· αλλω δε ουδενι εξεστη
θαψ[αι τινα] η δωσει Τλωεων τη γερουσια
✱ Α[φ?] ὡν ὁ ελ[ενξα]ς το [τριτ]ον λημψεται.

Line 1 is restored from line 5. The phrase δεδομενου συνχωρηματος κυρειας (line 2) occurs in no other inscription; commonly we have only συνχωρημα (see No. 43.), or συνχωρησις. Line 7, εξεστη instead of εξεσται. The substitution of η for αι is less frequent, see Sturz, De Dial. Maced. p. 119. The term λημψεται, line 9, we see constantly on the tombs of this neighbourhood.

No. 132.—On a rock-tomb.

ΖΗ
ΤΟΗΡΩΟΝΚΑΤΕϹΚΕΥΑϹΑΝΙΑϹΩΝΚΑΙΜΕΝΕΑ▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲▲ΑΟΥ
ϜΚΕΑΡΙϹΤΙΠΠΟϹΚΡΑΤΕΡΟΥΕΝΩΚΔΕΙΝΑΙ·Α̅·ΕΝΑΥΤΟΙϹΚΑΙΓΥΝΙΣΙ▲ΟΙΕ
ΕΞΑΥΤΩΝΚΑΤΑΓΕΝΟϹΕϹΟΜΕΝΟΙϹΚΑΘΟϹΕΠΕΤΡΕΨΕΝΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΕΣ▲ΝΙ
ΜΕΝΚΛΕΙΝΗΕΝΕΥΩΝΥΜΟΙϹ·Α·ΜΕΝΕΛΑΩΔΕΗΕΔϜΞΙΟΙϹ·Α·ΑΡΙϜΤΙΠΠΩΔΕ
ΜΟΙϹ·Β·ΗΔΕΟΥϹΑ·Δ·ΕΝΔΕΞΙΟΙΤΗΒΙΑΕϹΝΙΚΑΙΜΕΝΕΛΑΩΙϹΤΗΝΤΩΝΘΗ▲▲

ΑΥΤΩΝΤΑΦΗΝΚΑΙΤΟΙϹΕΞΑΥΤΩΝΕΤΕΡΩΔΕΟΥΔΕΝΙΗΜΩΝΕΞΕϹΤΑΙϹΙΝ
ΧΩΡΗϹΑΙΗΟΦΕΙΑΗϹΕΙΟϹΥΝΧΟΡΗϹΑϹΤΩΤΛΩΕΩΝΔΗΝΟ✱Φ·ΟΥΔϹ▲
ΤΕΡΟϹΤΙϹΕΞΩΘΕΝΩΝΘΑΨΕΙΤΙΝΑΗΟΦΕΙΔΗϹΕΙΤΩΤΛΩΕΩΝΔΗΝΟ·✱Φ
ΕΥΝΧΩΡΗϹΕΙΔΕΜΕΝΕΛΑΟϹΙϹΤΗΝΕΠΙΒΑΛΛΟΥϹΑΝΑΥΤΩ
ΤΗΝΕΝΔΕΞΙΟΙϹ·ΑΦΙΛΟΥΜΕΝΩΑΡϹΑϹΕΟϹ

The inscription may be read thus:—

Ζη[σασι]
Το ἡρωον κατεσκευασαν Ιασων και Μενελα[ος του Μενελ]αου
. . . κε [i. e. και] Αριστιππος Κρατερου, εν ὡ κλειναι δ̄, ἑν, αυτοις και γυναιξι [κε τ]οις
εξ αυτων κατα γενος γενομενοις· καθως επετρεψεν ἡ βουλη. Κε [Ιασο]νι
5 μεν κλεινη ἡ εν ευωνυμοις Α· Μενελαω δε ἡ εν δεξιοις Α· Αριστιππω δε [ἡ εν]
[ευωνυ]μοις Β· ἡ δε ουσα δ, εν δεξιοις ἡ Β, Ιασονι και Μενελαω ις την των θ[ρεπτων]
αυτων ταφην και τοις εξ αυτων· ἑτερω δε, ουδενι ἡμων εξεσται συν-
χωρησαι η οφειλησει ὁ συνχωρησας τω Τλωεων δημω ✱ φ· ουδε [ἑ-]
τερος τις εξωθεν θαψει τινα, η οφειλησει τω Τλωεων δημω ✱ φ.
10 Συνχωρησει δε Μενελαος ις την επιβαλλουσαν αυτω,
[τ]ην εν δεξιοις Α, Φιλουμενω Αρσασεως.

"In their lifetime.

"Iason and Menelaus, the sons of Menelaus, and Aristippus, son of Craterus, have constructed the Heroum, in which there are four couches, to belong together [?] to themselves and their wives and their descendants, as the Council has ordered; and there [belongs] to Iason Lit. A. on the left, and to Menelaus Lit. A. on the right, and to Aristippus Lit. B. on the left. But the fourth couch, Lit. B. on the right, [belongs] to Iason and Menelaus, to bury those whom they have brought up, and their offspring. It shall be lawful to none of us to give leave to another, or he who gives leave shall owe to the People of the Tloeans 500 denaria; nor shall a stranger bury one [here,] or he shall owe to the People of the Tloeans 500 denaria. But Menelaus will give leave to Philamenus, son of Arsases, [to bury his dead] on the couch which falls to his [Menelaus'] share, Lit. A. on the right."

In most of the rock-tombs examined by Mr. Fellows, there were compartments like bins scooped out in the rock, either on three, or only on two sides of the quadrangle; sometimes there were two tiers of them, one over the other. Our inscription shows that these "couches," which were for burying several persons, were sometimes lettered, and each the property of a separate family. The regulations of partnership between the persons who joined in constructing the tomb were confirmed by the municipal authorities (line 4); and the property and care of the building as a whole, if I am right in construing the second **EN** of line 3, was their joint concern.

Iason and Menelaus (lines 2 and 6) were probably brothers. The relative length of the lines of this inscription, which is written on the projecting parts of the lintel, seems to warrant the insertion of the restorations suggested by the general context between lines 5 and 6. Ke instead of *και* (line 2) appears distinctly in this and other inscriptions, and is explained as much by the general substitution of *ε* for *αι*, which prevailed in these countries, as by the Latin *que*.

No. 133.—Built into a wall.

ΤΟΗΡΩΟΝΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥ
ΑΣΑΝΑΙΛΙΟΣΟΥΛΠΙΟΣ
ΕΠΑΦΡΟΔΕΙΤΟΣΑΡΜΑΙΣΒ
ΤΟΥΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥΑΡΜΑΙΣΓ
ΜΕΝΕΚΛΗΣΜΕΝΕΚΛΕΟΥ
ΕΠΙΘΥΜΗΤΟΣΕΙΡΗΝΑΙΟΥ
ΤΛΩΕΙΣΕΥΤΥΧΗΣΙΑΣΟΝΟΣ
ΘΡΕΠΤΟΣΝΙΓΡΕΙΝΙΑΝΟΥΣΤΑ
ΣΙΘΕΜΙΔΟΣΑΥΞΗΤΙΚΟΣΑΓΡΙΠ
ΠΕΙΝΟΥΤΟΥΚΑΙΣΤΑΣΙΘΕΜΙΔΟΣ
ΤΙΦΛΑΥΙΟΣΘΑΛΑΜΟΣΤΛΩ
ΝΕΙΚΩΝΔΑΙΔΑΛΟΥΕΙΙΕΥΣ
^ΑΥΤΟΙΣΚΑΙΓΥΝΑΙΞΙΚΑΙ

"[The following] have built the Heroum: Ulpius Epaphroditus . . . . . ., son of Antiochus . . . . . .; Menecles, son of Menecles; Epithymetus, son of Irenæus, citizens of Tlos; Eutyches, son of Iason, foster-child of Nigrinianus Stasithemis; Auxeticus, son of Agrippinus, also called Stasithemis; Ti. Flavius Thalamus, citizens of Tlos; Nico, son of Dædalus, citizen of . . . . . ., for themselves and their wives and . . . . . ."

The translation leaves out the words ΑΡΜΑΙΣ Β and ΑΡΜΑΙΣ Γ of lines 3 and 4; they do not belong to the general context. In the list of barbarous words prefixed to the Thes. Ling. Græc. of Stephanus, we find *αρμαριον* or *ἁρμαριον*, *ἑρμαριον*, derived probably from the Latin *armarium*, which we might take here in the general signification of *compartment*, thinking that, like the preceding, this inscription belonged to a tomb in which the compartments were lettered. This explanation is indeed not free from objections. ΑΡΜΑΙΣ occurs in no other inscription copied in this neighbourhood.

No. 134.—Over the door of a rock-tomb.

ΟΥΑΝΔΡΟΕΙΟΥΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΩΙL△△△ ΚΑΙΣΙΚΟΥΛΕΙΝΟ
ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΞΠΑΤΙΟΣΑΔΗΔΟΥΗΔ△ΠΤΑΤΙ△△△△ΝΔΡΩΒΤΟΥ
ΣΤΕΦΑΝΟΥΔΑΙΛΑΛΩΤΩΚΑΙΕΙΦΙΤΩΚΑΛΟΚΑΙΡΩΑΓΡΙΗΙΕΙΝΟΥ
△ΤΟΥΚΑΥΣΤΑΣΙΘΕΜΙΔΟΣΑΡΤΕΙΜΑΑΡΤΕΙΜΟΥΕΥΤΥΧΙΑΝΗ
ΕΥΤΥΧΕΟΥΣΚΛΑΥΘΥΕΙΛΙΑΣΠΡΟΚΛΗΣΕΥΤΥΧΕΙΚΛΑΥΟΥΕΙΛΑΣ
ΠΡΟΚΛΗΣΩΕΥΤΥΧΕΙΣΥΝΕΧΩΡΗΘΗΔΟΥΝΑΙΕΞΩΤΙΚΟΙΣΣΥΝΧΩ
ΡΗΜΑΜΟΝΟΙΣΟΝΟΜΑΣΙΝΕΞΟΙΣΑΝΒΟΥΛΗΤΑΙΜΗ·ΕΠΟΜΕΝΗΣ
ΜΗΤΕΑΥΤΩΜΗΤΓΟΙΣΣΥΝΥΩΡΕΙΓΕΝΕΑΣΜΗΔΕΝ△ΔΕΕΧΕΙΝ

The inscription may partly be read thus:—

ου Ανδροσιου, Αλεξανδρω . . . . . και Σικουλεινω
. . . . . [Αλεξα]νδρω β του
Στεφανου, Δαιδαλλω τω και Ε[υ]φ[υ]τω, Καλοκαιρω Αγριππεινου
του και Στασιθεμιδος, Αρτειμα Αρτειμου, Ευτυχιανη
5 *Ευτυχεους Κλαυ. Ουειλιας Προκλης, Ευτυχει Κλαυ. Ουειλ[ι]ας*
Προκλης· ω [?] Ευτυχει συνεχωρηθη, δουναι εξωτικοις συνχω-
ρημα, μονοις ονομασιν, εξ, οις αν βουληται, μη επομενης
μητε αυτω μητε οις συνχωρει γενεας· μηδεν . . . δε εχειν.

The first five lines, which are read but imperfectly, contain the names of the great number of persons entitled to a burial in the tomb. Among them we find (lines 3 and 4) Agrippinus, also called Stasithemis, who is mentioned in the preceding inscription; and (line 5) the family of Claudia Velia Procla, probably the same whose splendid donation to the theatre of Patara is recorded in inscription 169. Her husband's name seems to be Eutyches: to Ευτυχει, at the end of line 5, however, I should rather supply υἱῶ than ανδρι; son and father having the same name, and the latter been mentioned already after Eutychiane, his and Procla's daughter, it was not thought necessary to mention him again. That the mother is named twice in this inscription, whilst generally she is not mentioned at all with the children's names, may be accounted for, either by the old Lycian

custom, spoken of by Herodotus, I. 173, to call persons after the mother, not after the father, or, as there is scarcely a trace of this custom to be found in other Greek inscriptions of Lycia, by the fact of Velia Procla being probably of a very conspicuous family (in No. 131 also the husband is inferior in dignity to his lady). From line 6 our inscription contains the following declaration, the only one of the kind in our funereal inscriptions: "Leave was given to Eutyches, to give leave to strangers, for themselves alone (? *μονοις ονομασιν*), to any six persons he chooses; but neither his descendants, nor those of the persons to whom he gives leave, may succeed [in that right]. But nobody is to have . . . . ."

No. 135.—On the two sides of the door-frame of a rock-tomb.

ΙΜΩΝΕ◢
ΣΙΑΝΕ◢ΕΩ
ΕΞΩΤΙΚΩΤΙ
ΝΙΣΥΝΧΩΡΗ
ΣΑΙΕΥΝΕΝ
ΤΑΦΗ◢ΗΘΑ
ΨΑΙΤΙΝΑΕΤΕ
ΡΟΝΗΟΦΕΙ
ΘΕΙΝΤΗΠΟΛΙ
ΚΦΟΜΟΙΩΣ
ΟΥΔΕΕΤΕΡΟΣ
ΤΙΣΕΞΩΤΙ
ΚΟΣΕΞΟΥΣ
ΑΝΕΞΕΙΘΑ
ΥΑΙΤΙΝΑΗΟ
ΦΕΙΛΗΣΕΙΤΗ
ΤΑΩΕΩΝΠΟ
ΛΕΙ✱ΑΦΩΝ
ΟΕΛΕΝΞΑΣ
ΛΗΝΨΕΤΑΙ
ΤΟΤΡΙΤΟΝ

ΗΔΕΕΠΙ
ΓΡΑΦΗΑΥ
ΤΗΚΑΙΗΑΣ
ΦΑΛΕΙΑΑΝΑ
ΓΕΓΡΑΠΤΑΙ
ΔΙΑΤΩΝΔΗΜΟ
ΣΙΩΝΓΡΑΜΜΑ
ΤΟΦΥΛΑΚΙ
ΩΝΕΠΙΑΡΧΙΕ
ΡΕΡΕΟΣΤΩΝ
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΝ
ΓΑΙΟΥΙΟΥΛΙ
ΟΥΗΛΙΟΔΩ
ΠΟΥΤΟΥΚΑΙ
ΔΙΟΦΑΝΤΟ◢

May be read thus:—

[ουδεις]
ήμων ε[ξου-]
σιαν εξει [?]
εξωτικω τι-
5 νι συνχωρη-
σαι, συνεν-
ταφη[ναι] η θα-
ψαι τινα ετε-
ρον, η οφει
10 [λ]ειν τη πολ[ε]ι
ϡ Φ 'Ομοιως
ουδε ετερος
τις εξωτι-
κος εξουσ[ι-]
15 αν εξει θα-
ψαι τινα, η ο-
φειλησει τη
Τλωεων πο-
λει ϡ ΛΦ, ών
20 ο ελενξας
λη[μ]ψεται
το τριτον.

'Η δε επι-
γραφη αυ-
25 τη και ή ασ-
φαλεια ανα-
γεγραπται
δια των δημο-
σιων γραμμα-
30 τοφυλακι-
ων, επι αρχιε-
ρεος των
Σεβαστων,
Γαΐου Ιουλι-
35 ου 'Ηλιοδω-
ρου, του και
Διοφαντου.

"None of us shall have leave of giving permission to a stranger to be buried with [us], or burying there another; or he shall owe to the city 500 denaria. Likewise, no stranger shall have leave to bury [there another], or he shall owe to the city of the Tloeans 1500 denaria, of which he that proves [the trespass] shall receive one-third. This declaration and the confirmation lie in the public archives, written under the High-priest of the Augusti, Cajus Julius Heliodorus, also called Diophantus."

We observe that most of the tombs of this city have been constructed for the use of the dead of several families, which may account for their more than usual magnificence.

No. 136.—Over the inner door of a rock-tomb.

ΜΕΣΗΚΛΕΙΝΗ▲ΚΛΑΥΛΙΟΥΙΙΠΙ
ΚΑΙΗΔ▲ΞΙΑ

"The middle couch [to be the property] of Claudius, and that on the right . . . . . ."

No. 137.—On the side of the door of a rock-tomb.

ΚΑΙΤΑΥΟ▲ΔΑΕΜΜΟΥΤΩ
ΣΥΝΕ▲Ο▲▲ΚΙΑΙΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ
ΚΑΙΤΣΠ▲ΟΙΣΑΥΤΟΥ

Ο▲▲ΜΜ▲▲ΟΥΚΑΙΓ▲▲ΗΝ
ΑΠ▲ΑΜ▲▲ΟΙ▲▲▲
▲▲▲▲▲▲ΝΟΙΣΕΑΩ▲▲ΚΤΟΥ

Line 2 seems to have contained the name of the wife, and those after the third the names of the children of the proprietor.

No. 138.

ΚΩΝΚΑΙ
ΑΙΓΡΑΜ

No. 139.

ΑΙΟΤΙ▲
ΝΤΙΣΤ
ΕΑΡΟΣ
ΙΚΙΑΣΚΑ
ΟΙΕΡΟΣΥ
ΜΑΙΩΝ
ΙΣΜΗ
ΝΟΥΣ

No. 140.—In a wall.

ΝΟΣΕ
ΡΩΜΑΙ
ϽΝΕΠΙ
ΣΤΟ
ΚΑΙ

In line 2 we see the name of the Romans, which we may read also in the preceding inscription.

No. 141.—On a large rock-tomb.

"The monument of Eperastus, son of Philocles, a citizen of Tlos, and of his wife Nannis, and of his heir Soteris, daughter of Eperastus, and of her descendants in succession, and of those to whom she may give leave herself, as [she did] also to her husband Zeno [?], and her foster-sister. But for nobody else it shall be lawful to be buried with [us], besides myself and my heir Soteris permitting it, since he who gives leave shall owe to the People of the Tloeans 1000 denaria, of which he that proves [the trespass] shall receive one-half."

The female name of Ναννη, from which Ναννις (line 1) may be derived, occurs in an inscription published by Walpole, Travels, p. 557. The change from the genitive into the dative (line 1) is remarkable.

ΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝ ΕΠΕΡΑΣΤΟΥ Τ ΦΙΛΟΚΛΕΟΥΣΤΛΩΕΩΣ ΚΑΙΓΥΝΑΙΚ ΝΑΝ ΝΙΛΙ
ΚΑΙΤΗΚΛΗΕ ΟΝΟΜΩΛΥΤΟΥΣΩΤΗΡΙΔΙ ΕΠΕΡΑΣΤΟΥ ΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΓΚΤΑΥΤΗΣ ΚΑΤΑΔΑΔΟΙΙΧΗΝ

ΚΑΤΟΙΣΑΝΑΥΙ ΕΥΝΜΩ ΡΗΕΥ ΩΣΚΑ ΑΝΔΡΙΑΥΤΗΣ ΩΕΙΝΩΝΠ
ΚΑΙΤΗΛΔΕΔΦΗΣΥΝ ΤΡΟΦΕ ΕΤΕΡΩΔΕΟΥΔΕΝΙΕΞΣΤΑΙΣΥΝΕΝ
ΓΑΦΗΝΑΙ ΩΡΙΣΤΟΥΕΜΕ ΚΤΗΝΚΛΗΡΟ ΜΟΝΣΩΤΗΡΙΔΑΕΠΙΤΡΕΥΑΙΕΠΕΙΟΦΕΙΛΗΣΕΙ
ΟΣΥΝΧΩΡΗΣΑΣ ΤΛΩΕΩΝΤΩΔΕΜΟ<Α ΕΞΩΝΟΕΛΕΝΞΑΣΛΗΜΨΕΤΑΙ ΤΟΗΜΙΣΥ

May be read thus :—

Το μνημειον Επεραστου τ[ου] Φιλοκλεους, Τλωεως, και γυναικ[ι] Ναννιδι [?]
και τη κληρονομω Σωτηριδι [τη] Επεραστου και τοις εκ ταυτης κατα διαδοχην,

και οις αν αυ[τη] συνχωρηση· ως και ανδρι αυτης Ζηνωνι [?]
και τη αδελφη συντροφ[η]· ετερω δε ουδενι εξ[ε]σται συνεν-
5 *ταφηναι [χ]ωρις του εμε κ[αι] την κληρο[νο]μον Σωτηριδα επιτρεψαι, επει οφειλησει*
ο συνχωρησας Τλωεων τω δ[η]μ[ω] ✱Α, εξ ων ο ελενξας λημψεται το ημισυ.

PINARA.

No. 142.—On a rock-tomb.

ΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝΤΟΥΤΟΓΡΟΣΕΓΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΟΝΥΠΟΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥΕΡΜΑΤΡΟΦΕΟΤΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΣΠΛΑΤΩΝΙΔΟΣΠ
ΝΑΡΙΔΟΣΥΚΑΕΗΝΡΥΚΑΝΕΧΙ/ΙΚΑΙΑΤΟΓΕΓΟΝΟΣΑΥΤΩΙΥΝΧ/ΡΗΜΑΥΠΟΓΑΙΟΥΛΙΒΙΝΙΟΥΕΡΜΔΚΟΙΙΟΥΠΙΝΑΡΕ
ΩΚΑΙΑΝΑΓΕΓΡΑΜΜΕΝΟΝΚΠΣΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣΠΑΤΙΒΡΑΙΟΥΔΑΙΣΟΥΖΕΙΣΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝΜΟΝΟΙΣΕΖΕΙΝΑΙ
ΤΑΦΗΝΑΙΑΥΤΩΚΑΥΗΩΕΡΜΑΚΑΙΤΗΓΥΝΑΙΗΑΥΤΟΥΣΥΝΕΣΕΙΕΤΕΡΩΔΕΟΥΔΕΝΙΕΞΕΣΤΑΙΘΑΦΑΙΤΙΝΑΚ/
ΤΟΥΔΕΝΑΤΡΟΠΟΝΟΔΕΘΑΨ/ΑΠΙΕΦΕΥΡΩΝΠΩΔΗΙΟΤΕΤΡΟΠΩΕΙΕΡΙΤΟΥ/ΑΦΟΝΑΜΑΡΤΩΜΤ/
ΕΣΤΩΘΕΟΙΕΚΑΤΑΧΡΟΝΙΟΙΕΚΑΙΟΦΚΙΛΕΤΩΠΙΝΑΡΕΩΝΤΩΔΗΜΩ/
ΧΧΕΙΛΙΑΕΞΩΝΤΟΤΡΙΤΟΜΛΗΝΙΕΤΑΙΟΣΛΕΝΞΑ ▷

2 D

May be read thus:—

Το μνημειον τουτο προσεπεσκευασθη ὑπο Κλαυδιου Ἑρμα, τροφεος Κλαυδιας Πλατωνιδος Π[ι-]
ναριδος . . . . . κατα το γεγονος αυτω [σ]υνχ[ω]ρημα ὑπο Γαΐου Λι[κ]ινιου Ἑρμακοπου Πιναρε-
ως και αναγεγραμμενον επι [?] αρχιερεως Πατιβραιου Δαισ[ι]ου Ζ. Εις ὁ μνημειον μονοις εξειναι
ταφηναι αυτω Κλαυ[δι]ω Ἑρμα και τη γυναιη αυτου Συνεσεν ἑτερω δε ουδενι εξεσται θαψαι τινα κα-
5 *τ' ουδενα τροπον. Ὁ δε θαψ[ας] . . . . . εφευρων . . . . . τροπω . . . ταφον ἁμαρτωλος [?]*
εστω θεοις καταχθονιοις και οφειλετω Πιναρεων τω δημω
Ϡ χειλια, εξ ὡν το τριτον λη[μψ]εται ὁ ελενξας.

"This monument was added by Claudius Hermas, foster-father of Claudia Platonis, a woman of Pinara . . . . according to the cession made to him by Cajus Licinius Hermacopus, a citizen of Pinara, which was written down under the high-priest Patibræus on the 7th of the month Dæsius. Only Claudius Hermas himself and his wife Synesis shall have leave to be buried in the monument; to another it shall not be permitted to bury [one there] in any way. But he who buries . . . . ., be he a criminal unto the Gods of Hell, and let him owe to the People of the Pinareans a thousand denaria, of which he that proves [the trespass] shall receive one-third."

The month Dæsius was the eighth both in the Syro-Macedonian and Ephesian almanacs, and in the latter had thirty days, beginning on April 14th.

No. 143. Page 144.—On a pedestal.

No. 144. Page 145.—On the mullion of a rock-tomb.

The inscription may be read thus:—

Το μνημειον
Αντιπατρου, δις
του Πισεδαρου,
εν ὡ βεβουληται
5 ταφηναι μετα το
αποβιωσαι [?] ἑα[υ]τον
τε και την γυναικα
Μαλαν Βιτ-
ωνος. Εαν δε τις ε-
10 πιχειρηση ἑτερον
θαψαι, οφειλεσει
τω Πιναρεων δη-
μω δηναρια πεν-

τακοσια, αφ' ὧν το
15 τριτον ὁ ελενξας λημψεται. Τουτο και δια των
αρχειων δεδηλωται.
Ὁ δε παρα τα
γεγραμμενα τι
ποιησας εστω
20 ἱεροσυλος . . . .
θεοις ουρανιοις
και . . . . καταχθο-
νιοις και το προ-
τειμον αποτει-
25 σατω. Δεδη-
λωται [επι?] αρχ-
ιερεως Αρτε-
μιδωρου [?]
Ὑβερβερε-
30 ταιου
Λ.

The name Pisedarus (line 3) bears a close resemblance to that of the Carian king, called Pixodarus by Herod., v. 118, and on the coins. Βεβουληται (line 4), αποθιωσαι (line 6), δεδηλωται (line 16), προστειμον (line 24), are read in no other of our inscriptions; so is αφ' ὧν (line 14), instead of the common ὧν; εξ ὧν occurs in No. 142.

No. 145.—Within the portico of a rock-tomb. The rock was originally so full of holes, that I think many of the blanks are not omissions of letters.

ΤΕΛΕ ΣΙΑΣΤΙΑΟΜΑΔΙΕΛΙΥΩΝΓΕΝΟΥΣ
ΤΟΗ ΤΩΙΟΝΟΑΤΕΣΚΕΜΛΚΕΝΑΥ ΤΩΙΚΑΙΤΗΙ
ΓΥΝΑΙΚΙΚΑΙΤΟΙΣΤ ΕΚΝΟΙΣ ΚΑΙΣΓΓΟΝΟΙΣ
ΑΥΤΟΥΑΛΑΩΙΔΕΜΗΘΣ ΝΙ ΕΞΕΣΤΩ
ΕΠΑΝΟΙ ΞΑΙΤΟΗΡΩΙΟΝΜΗΔΕΠΡΟ ΑΞΑΙΕΝΣΡΩΙ

ΕΛΝΔΕΕΙΣΠΑΡΑΤΑΥΤΑΠΟΙΗΣΗ ΜΑΡΤΩΛΟΣ
ΕΣΤΩΘΕΩΝΠΑΝΤΩΝΚΑΙΛΗ ΤΟΥΣ
ΚΑΙΤΩΝΤΕ ΚΝΩΝ ΙΑ ΓΡΟΣ
ΑΠΟΤΕΙΣΑΤΩΤΑΛΑΝΤ ΝΑΡ ΥΡΙΟΥ
ΚΑΙΕΞΕΣΤΩΤΩΙΒΟΥΛΟΝΛΕΝΩΙ
ΕΓΑΙΚΑΓΕΣΩΑΙΠΕΡΙΤΟΥΤΩΝ

The inscription may partly be read thus:—

Τελεσιας . . . . . γενους
το ἡρῳον [κ]ατεσκευακεν αυτῳ και τῃ
γυναικι και τοις τεκνοις και εγγονοις
αυτου· αλλῳ δε μηθενι εξεστω
5 *επανοιξαι το ἡρῳον μηδε προ[στ]αξαι ἑτερῳ.*
Εαν δε τις παρα ταυτα ποιησῃ, [ἁ]μαρτωλος
εστω θεων παντων και Λητους
και των τεκνων [κα]ι . . . προς-
αποτεισατω ταλαντ[ο]ν αρ[γ]υριου
10 *και εξεστω τῳ βουλομενῳ*
εκδικησασθαι [?] περι τουτων.

"Telesias . . . . . has built the Heroum for himself, and his wife, and his children, and grand-children; but to another it shall not be lawful to open the Heroum, or command another [to do so]. But if anybody acts against this, let him be a criminal unto all the gods, and Leto and her children, and let him pay besides a talent of silver; and any one who chooses may institute proceedings about this."

The worship of Leto, and Apollo and Artemis, [Diana] her children, was, as we learn from the classics and from coins, of the greatest importance throughout Lycia; it is mentioned in no other inscription known to us besides this. Nor is it usual to ascribe their characteristic iota to several grammatical forms, as is done in the present inscription; being also the only one in which the talent is mentioned, it seems to belong to an earlier date than the greater number of those published in this work.

The form *μηθεις* (line 4) instead of *μηδεις*, is however attributed to the later periods of the Greek language. See Lobeck ad Phrynich., p. 182, Osann Syll. Inscr., pp. 240, 576.

No. 146.—On a rock-tomb.

ΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝΤΟΥΠΟΥΛ ΣΥΜΦ
ΙΚΩΝΟΜΟΥΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΣΠΛΑΤΩΝΙΔ

May partly be read thus:—

το μνημειον τουτο . . . . .
[*ο*]*ικονομου* Κλαυδιας Πλατωνιδ[*ος*].

"This monument . . . . . of the Steward of Claudia Platonis." The last-named person is mentioned in No. 142.

No. 147.—On the side of the door of a tomb.

ΕΥΤΥΧΟΥ
ΤΟΥΕΡΜΑ
ΠΙΟΥ

"Of Eutychos, son of Hermapios."

No. 148.—Over a tomb.

ΚΒΑΙ ΜΙΟΥ
ΤΟΥΚΒΑΙΜΙΟΥ

"Of Cræmius, the son of Cræmius." The B seems to stand for P. See No. 59.

No. 149.—On a rock-tomb, over a Lycian inscription.—See Plate XXXVI. No. 10.

ΕΠΙΤΥ
ΝΧΑ
ΝΟΝ
ΤΟΣΤ
ΟΥΟΡ
ΝΙΜΥ
ΘΟΥ

"Of Epitynchanon, son of Ornimythus." The name of Epitynchanon occurs in an inscription copied at Athens by Dodwell, Classical Tour, t. i. p. 420, and in the Marm. Oxon. ed. Chandler, lvi.

No. 150.—Over a rock-tomb.

ΕΩΟ//ΕΝΑΗΟΡΟΥ

SIDYMA.

No. 151.—Upon a pedestal.

ΔΙΙΗΛΙΩΣΕΡΑΠΙΔΙ
ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΣΑΓΡΙΠΠΑΣ

"To Zeus Helios Serapis, Claudius Agrippa."

No. 152.—On a tomb with triglyphs.

ΦΛΑΥΙΟΣΦΑΡΜΑΚΗΣ
ΦΛΑΥΙΑΝΝΑΝΜΗΝ

ΤΗΝΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑ
△△△ΑΡΧΙΣΙΑΤΕΥΣΑΣΑΝ
△△ΕΝΣΕΡΑΣΤΩΝ
ΚΑΙΤΕΙΜΗΘΕΙΣΑΝ
ΤΑΙΣΠΡΩΤΑΙΣΤΕΙΜΑΙΣ
ΥΠΟΤΟΥΕΘΝΟΥΣΚΑΙΤΗΣ
ΠΟΛΕΩΣΚΑΙΥΕ△△
ΚΑΙΤΑΙΣΔΕ
ΣΗΣΑΣΑΝΣ
ΚΑΙΕΝΔΟΞΩ

The inscription may be read thus :—

Φλαυιος Φαρ[ν]ακης
Φλαυιαν Ναν[ν]ην
την θυγατερα
αρχιερατευσασαν [?]
5 [τω]ν Σεβαστων
και τειμηθεισαν
ταις πρωταις τειμαις
ὑπο του εθνους και της
πολεως και . . . .
10 και ταις δε . . .
[ζ]ησασαν σ[ωφρονως]
και ενδοξως.

" Flavius Pharnaces [honours?] Flavia Nanne [?], his daughter, who was an High-priestess of the Augusti, and was honoured with the first honours by the nation and the city and . . . . . ., and lived temperately [?] and gloriously."

No. 153. Page 153.

Nos. 154 and 155. Page 154.

No. 156. Page 155.

DELTA OF THE XANTHUS.

No. 157. Page 161.

No. 158. Page 162.

The inscription may partly be read thus:—

[Το μνημειον] κατεσκευασεν . . . . ος Επαφροδειτου Ξανθιος
ἑαυτω και τεκνοις και ενγονοις και συνγενεισι· ἑτερω δε ου[δ]εν[ι]
τουτου το ιδιον μερος εξεχωρηθη δια των αρχειων Αυρηλιω
Ζωσιμω ε . . τη ἑβδομη του Απελλαιου μηνος αρχιερει [?] Ταυρεινου ει μη
5 μη μονον αυτος ὁ Ζωσιμος οὑς αν βουληθη
η ὁ παρα ταυτα ποιησας αποτεισει Ξανθιων
τη πολει . . σν.

Lines 1, 2, 6 and 7 formed the inscription originally written on the tomb by the first proprietor, the son of Epaphroditus; lines 3, 4, and probably 5 also, were added by Aurelius Zosimus, probably one of the descendants of the former. The son of Epaphroditus did not intend to give leave of burying to strangers, thence line 6 is the exact continuation of line 2; Zosimus records his different opinion rather incoherently as to grammar. The double μη is remarkable; so is **ΕΝΓΟΝΟΙΣ** (line 2) instead of the usual **ΕΓΓΟΝΟΙΣ**.

XANTHUS.

No. 159.—On a stone near the arch of the gateway.

ΤΟΗΑΙΡΑΚΟΣΑΜ/ΡΚΩΥ
ΕΣΠΑΣΙΑΝΟΝΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΝΤΟΝΣΩ
ΠΗΡΑΚΑΙΕΥΕΡΓΕΙΜΝΤΟΥΚΟΤΜΟΥ
ΞΑΝΘΙΩΝΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙΟΔΗΜΟΣ
ΝΑΣΕΞΣΤΟΥΜΑΡΚΙΟΥΣ/ΗΣΚΟΥ
ΤΡΕΣΒΕΥΤΟΥΑΥΤΟΥΑΝΤΙΕΓΡΑΤΗΓΩ

The inscription may partly be read thus:—

Αυτοκρατορα Καισαρα [?] *Ου-*
εσπασιανον, Σεβαστον, τον σω-
τηρα και ευεργετην του κοσμου
Ξανθιων ἡ βουλη και ὁ δημος
5 *δια* [?] *Σεξστου Μαρκιου* [*Πρει*]*σκου*
πρεσβευτὸυ αυτου, αντιστρατηγου.

"The Emperor Cæsar Vespasianus, Augustus, the protector and benefactor of the world; the Council and the People of the Xanthians [honour him] through Sextus Marcius Priscus, his Legate and Proprætor."

The words of line 5 are restored from the following inscription. The form Σεξστος, which appears clearly in both, instead of Σεξτος, has also been observed in some Codices. See Stephanus Thes. Græc. ed. Valpy, page ccccliii.

No. 160.—Over a gateway.

ΟΥΗ Π Ν Σ ΤΩ
ΙΟΛΗΜΟΣΔΙΑΣΕΞΣΤΟΥΜΑΡΚΚΨΗΡΕΙΣΚΟΥΠΡ
ΤΕΛΕΙΟΣΑΝΤΟΣΤΟΕΡΓΟΝ

No. 161.

ΤΙΔΒΕΨΤΟΥΑΥ

Taking these two slabs to have been contiguous, the inscription may, in connection with the foregoing, be read thus:—

. . . . . .
ὁ δημος δια Σεξστου Μαρκιου Πρεισκου π[ρες]βευτου αυ[του] επιμεληθεντος [?] το εργον.

"..... the People, through Sextus Marcius Priscus, his Legate, who superintended the work."

No. 162.—On a pedestal built into a wall.

ΓΑΙΟΝΙΟΥΛΙΟΝΣΑΤΟΥΡ
ΝΙΝΟΝΥΠΑΤΙΚΟΝΗΓΕΜΟ
ΝΑΚΑΙΤΗΣΗΜΕΤΕΡΑΣ
ΕΠΑΡΧΕΙΑΣΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΝ
ΑΡΙΣΤΟΝΚΑΤΑΠΑΣΑΝΑΡΕ
ΤΗΝ ΞΑΝΘΙΩΝΤΗΣ
ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΩΣΤΟΥΛΥ
ΚΙΩΝΕΘΝΟΥΣΗΒΟΥΛΗΚΑΙ
ΟΔΗΜΟΣ

"Cajus Julius Saturninus, the Consularis and Governor, who excelled in our province in every virtue; the Council and the People of the Xanthians of the metropolis of the Lycian nation [honour him, probably by erecting a statue]."

In this inscription, and several others, the difference of δημος, *people*, and ἔθνος, *nation*, is constantly observed; the former word signifying a political body within the corporation, the latter the union of several cities, that were bound together by historical recollections and partly by sameness of descent, and united in celebrating public sacrifices and games. The Συστημα Λυκιακον described by Strabo, the Κοινον Λυκιας, *Commune Lyciorum*, of the memorable Graeco-Latin inscription at Rome

(Gruter, 1009, 5), and the *εθνος Λυκιας*, are synonymous terms. An athlete who had won prizes at the games celebrated by the different *Κοινα*, says of himself in an inscription (Gruter, p. 317, 1.), *αγωνισαμενος εν εθνεσι τρισι, Ιταλια, Ἑλλαδι, Ασια*: at these games, as we have seen, the *Reges sacrificuli*, the Asiarchæ, Galatarchæ, Lyciarchæ, etc.—Ethnarchæ, the general term—presided. *Πατρις*, to judge from our inscriptions, seems to relate to *πολις* rather than to *εθνος*, and to be the *native city*, not the *country*.

No. 163. Page 166.—On a pedestal.

No. 164.—In a wall.

ΜΑΒΑΣΤΩΝΣΕΕΤΟΥΟΥ
ΟΛΣΟΣΤΟΥΛΥΚΙΩΝΕΟΙ
ΛΕΟΣΗΜΩΝΚΛΑΥΙΑΤΙ
ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗΝΑΠΟΛΕΙΦΩΕ
ΥΔΙΑΝΟΥΤΟΥΕΥΕΡΓΕ

This fragment may partly be read thus:—

Σεβαστων . . . . [μητροπ-]
ολεος του Λυκιων εθ[νους, της πο-]
λεος ἡμων. Κλαυδια Τι . . . [κατα]
διαθηκην απολειφθε[ισαν ὑπο . . .]
5 *υλιανου του ευεργε[του].*

It records a donation made to the gods or the people by Claudia, according to a will left by a citizen, whom the Xanthians call their benefactor.

No. 165. Page 167.—On a pedestal.

The inscription may be read thus:—

[Ἱερατευ]σαμε[νος τ-]
ου θεου Ξανθου, γυ-
μνασιαρχησας της
σεμνοτατης γερου-
5 σιας, τελεσας δε και
ἑτερας πλειονας πο-
λειτι[κ]ας αρχας τη
πατριδι, τον ανδρι-
αντα κατα τα εψη-
10 φισμενα εκ των ιδι-
ων ανεστησα.

That the Gerusia had sometimes their own gymnasium (lines 3 and 4), may also be inferred from an inscription at Smyrna (Reines. Inscr., Cl. II. 68.), in which an αλειπτηριον της γερουσιας is spoken of. Strabo, XIV. p. 649, enumerates among the public buildings of Nysa γυμνασιον νεων και το γεροντικον, which seems to be explained by our inscriptions.

No. 166. Page 167.—On a pedestal, built into a wall.

The inscription may be read thus:—

Κοντον, Απολλωνιου,
δις του Σωστρατου [?], Ξαν-
θιον, πατρος και προγο-
νων βουλευτων, αγωνι-
5 σαμενον ανδρων παλην
εν τω επιτελεσθεντι αγω-

νι, θεμιδος Γ, εκ διαθηκης
Τιβ. Κλ. Κασιανου Αγριππα,
νεικησαντα και εκβιβασαν-
10 τα κληρους Δ, αγωνοθε-
τουντος της θεμιδος δια
βιου του αξιολογωτατου
φιλοπατριδος Λυκιαρχου
Τιβ. Κλ. Τηλεμαχου. Ξαν-
15 θιων ἡ του Λυκιων εθνο[υς]
μητροπολις, καθως ὁ δι-
αθεμενος διεστειλατο.

The word *επιτελεω*, *to perform*, in connection with *αγων* (line 6), occurs in two other inscriptions, both from Aphrodisias, Boeckh, 2741, 2811; the latter in several respects similar to ours, the former containing a letter of the Asiarch Eurycles, under the Emperor Commodus, concerning a fund left by will, from which the Lysimachian *αγωνες επιτελεσθεντες* were to be rewarded. The term seems to signify a game, or rather an exhibition forming part of a public game, in which the prize was given from a private foundation, frequently left by will, in which case the testator's descendants were mostly the distributors (Tiberius Claudius, lines 8 and 14). *Εκβιβαζω κληρους* (lines 9 and 10) was, as we learn from Euseb. Hist. Eccl., V. 1, a technical term of the Athletæ (see also Faber Agonisticon, I. 24). Eusebius says of two Christian martyrs, *και ὁ μεν Ματουρος και ὁ Σαγκτος αυθις διηεσαν εν τῳ αμφιθεατρῳ δια πασης κολασεως, ὡς μηδεν ὁλως προπεπονθοτες, μαλλον δ' ὡς δια πλεονων ηδη κληρων εκβεβιβακοτες τον αντιπαλον*; and of the martyr Blandina, *τον αγαθαγωνιστον αθλητην Χριστον ενδεδυμενη, δια πολλων κληρων εκβιβασασα.* Valesius remarks, from Lucian Hermot., and Gruter 317, 1, that after the first matches had been contested by the several pairs of wrestlers, the victors were again paired by lot among themselves; one contest at last deciding who was the victor of all. Our Quintus greatly distinguished him-

self, having been victorious in four matches, but afterwards it seems he was vanquished himself, or else he would have called himself *νεικησας κατα παντων*, as in No. 100.

No. 167.—On a tomb, with a lion on the top. See Plate XIX.

ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥΕΠΗ[illegible]ΩΤΟΥΑΡΧΙΙ
ΤΡΟΥΞΑΙΚΛΑΥΔΙΑΕΑΦΕΛΕ
ΗϹΕΠΙΤΟΜΗΔΕΝΑΕΤΕ
ΡΟΝΤΕΘΗΝΑΙΕΙΜΗΜΟΝΟΝ
ΘΥΓΑΤΕΡΑΑΥΤΩΝΛΑΙΝΑΝ
ΕΑΝΔΕΤΙϹΕΤΕΡΟΝΘΑΨΗ
ΑΠΟΔΟΨΝΑΙΑΨΟΝΤΩΙΕΡΩ
ΤΑΤΩΤΑΜΕΙΩ✱ΡΦ

The inscription may be read thus:—

Κλαυδιου Επη[ρ]ωτου του αρχι[α-]
τρου και Κλαυδιας Αφ. Ἑλε[ν-]
ης επι τ[ω] μηδενα ἑτε-
ρον τεθηναι, ει μη μονον
5 θυγατερα αυτων Λ[ε]αιναν.
Εαν δε τις ἑτερον θαψη,
αποδουναι αυ[τ]ον τω ἱερω-
τατω ταμειω ✱, ͵ΒΦ [?].

"..... of Claudius Eperotus, the Archiater, and Claudia Appia Helena, with the intention that no other be put there, except their daughter Leæna. But if one bury another [there, he is] to give to the most sacred treasury 2500 [?] denaria."

The office of Archiater is mentioned in Nos. 56 and 80. Επι τω (line 3) serves to explain εφ' ὡ of No. 46.

No. 168.—Over a rock-tomb.

ΑΥΒΗΜΟϹΕΥΜΑΚΟΤΑΓΓΛΑΥΚΟΥΕΩΝΗϹΑΤΟΤΟΗΡΟΕΙΟΝΕΠΙΤΩ
ΤΕΘΗΝΑΙΑΥΤΟΝΤΕΚΑΙΤΗΝΥΝΑΙΡΑΑΥΡΠΑΡΟΕΝΑΝΖΩϹΙΝΑΗϹΚΑΥΤΑΤΕΚΑΙ
ΑΥΤΩΝΕΤΕΡΟΝΔΕΜΗΔΕΝΑ

This inscription may be read thus:—

Αυρηλιος Ευμαχος [?] . . . . *Γλαυκου εωνησατο το ἡροειον επι τω τεθηναι αυτον τε και την γυναικα Αυρ. Παρθεναν Ζωσιμην* [?] *και τα τεκνα αυτων, ἑτερον δε μηδενα.*

"Aurelius Eumachus, son of Glaucus, bought the Heroum with the intent that there be put there himself and his wife, Aurelia Parthena Zosime, and their children, but nobody else."

PATARA.

No. 169.—In the theatre.

ΑΥΤΟΚΡΑΤΟΡΙΚΑΙΣΑΡΙΘΕΟΥΑΔΡΙΑΝΟΥΥΙΩΘΕΟΥΤΡΑΙΑΝΟΥ
ΠΑΡΘΙΚΟΥΥΙΩΝΩΘΕΟΥΝΕΡΟΥΑΕΓΓΟΝΩΤΙΤΩΑΙΛΙΩΑΔΡΙΑΝΩ
ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΩΣΕΒΑΣΤΩΕΥΣΕΒΕΙΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΙΜΕΓΙΣΤΩΔΗΜΑΡΧΙΚΗΣ
ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΣΤΟΙΥΠΑΤΩΤΟΔΠΑΤΡΙΠΑΤΡΙΔΟΣΚΑΙΘΕΟΙΣ
ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΙΣΚΑΤΟΙΣΠΑΤΡΩΟΙΣΘΕΟΙΣΚΑΙΤΗΓΛΥΚΥΤΑΤΗ
ΠΑΤΡΙΔΙΤΗΠΑΤΑΡΕΩΝΠΟΛΕΙΤΗΜΗΤΡΟΠΟΛΕΙΤΟΥ
ΛΥΚΙΩΝΕΘΝΟΥΣΟΥΕΙΛΙΑΚΟΥΕΙΛΙΟΥΤΙΤΙΑΝΟΥΘΥΓΑΤΗΡ
ΠΡΟΚΛΑ ΠΑΤΑΡΙΣ ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕΝ
ΚΑΙΚΑΘΙΕΡΩΣΕΝΤΟΤΕΠΡΟΣΚΗΝΙΟΝΟΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΕΝ
ΕΚΘΕΜΕΛΙΩΝΟΠΑΤΗΡΑΥΤΗΣΚΟΟΥΕΙΛΙΟΣΤΙΤΙΑΝΟΣ
ΚΑΙΤΟΝΕΝΑΥΤΩΚΟΣΜΟΝΚΑΙΤΑΠΕΡΙΑΥΤΟΚΑΙΤΗΝΤΩΝ
ΑΝΔΡΙΑΝΤΩΝ ΚΑΙΑΓΑΛΜΑΤΩΝ ΑΝΑΣΤΑΣΙΝ
ΚΑΙΤΗΝΤΟΥΛΟΓΕΙΟΥΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΗΝ ΚΑΙ
ΠΛΑΚΩΣΙΝΑΕΠΟΙΗΣΕΝΑΥΤΗΤΟΔΕΕΝΔΕΚΑΤΟΝ
ΤΟΥΔΕΥΤΕΡΟΥΔΙΑΖΩΜΑΤΟΣΒΑΘΡΟΝΚΑΙΤΑΒΗΛΑ
ΤΟΥΘΕΑΤΡΟΥΚΑΤΑΣΚΕΥΑΣΘΕΝΤΑΥΠΟΤΕΤΟΥ
ΠΑΤΡΟΣ ΑΥΤΗΣ ΚΑΙΥΠΑΥΤΗΣ
ΠΡΟΑΝΕΤΕΘΗΚΑΙΠΑΡΕΔΟΘΗΚΑΤΑΤΑΥΠΟΤΗΣΚΡΑΤΙΣΤΗΣ
ΒΟΥΛΗΣΕΨΗΦΙΣΜΕΝΑ

"To the Emperor Cæsar, the son of the god Hadrianus, the grandson of the god Trajanus, the Parthic, the great grandson of the god Nerva, Titus Ælius Hadrianus Antonius Pius, Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, in the tenth year of his tribunitial power, having been Consul four times, the father of the fatherland, and to the Gods, the Augusti and the Penates, and to her dearest native city, Patara, the metropolis of the Lycian nation, Velia Procula, daughter of Q. Velius Titianus, a woman of Patara, has given this, and has consecrated the proscenium, which her father, Q. Velius Titianus, built from the foundations, and the ornament upon it and the things belonging to it, and the

erection of statues and sculptures, and the building of the Logeion and the incrustation of it [*i.e.* with marble], which things she provided herself; but the eleventh step of the second diazoma, and the awnings of the theatre, which were provided by her father and herself, were already dedicated and delivered over according to the decree of the excellent Council."

Copied by Mr. Cockerell, and published by Walpole, Travels, p. 535, who makes the following remarks: "By the θεοὶ πατρῴοι (line 5) are meant the Roman Penates, according to Cic. pro Sulla: Dii Patrii et Penates. See Perizon. ad Ælian., I. p. 264. The Roman *pulpitum* was larger than the Greek Logeion (line 13). This served as a stage to the actors only, whilst in the pulpitum musical performances and dancing also took place. The Πλακωσις, *incrustation with marble* (line 14), is explained by Vales. ad Euseb. 205: "Marmoreas crustas πλακας vocabant." The pieces of marble were fixed to the walls by metal hooks and nails.

The *diazoma* (line 15) is mentioned in our No. 19. This name, corresponding to the *præcinctio* of the Roman theatres, is given to the large open lobbies, by which the seats of the spectators were divided into several tiers. Βηλα (line 15), *i. e.* Latin *vela*, occurs in an inscription of Aphrodisias, Boeckh, 2758.

No. 170.—Upon a bracket on the archway.

ΠΟΝΡΟΥΦΟΝ
ΠΑΤΕΡΑΜΕΜΤ
ΜΟΔΕΣΤΟΥΗΓΕ
ΜΟΝΟΣ ΛΥΚΙΩΝ
ΤΟΚΟΙΝΟΝ

The inscription may partly be read thus:—

...πον Ρουφον
πατερα Μεμμ-
[ιου?] Μοδεστου ήγε-
μονος Λυκιων
5 το κοινον.

"..... Rufus, father of Memmius [?] Modestus; the Governor, the nation of the Lycians [honours him]."

No. 171. Page 180.—Upon the door of a Lycian tomb.

No. 172. Page 180.—On a large round pedestal.

The inscription may be read thus:—

Τεμ . . . [Π]λατωνος Παταρει
και Ξανθιω, πολειτευσαμε-
νω δε κα[ι] εν ταις κατα Λυκιαν
πολεσι πασαις, την οστοθη-
5 κην Ιασων Αντιγονου
Παταρευς. Αλλω δε μη εξεσ-
τω τεθηναι. Εαν δε τις τινα θη,
οφειλετω ίερας Απολλωνι
δραχμας C, της πραξεως και προσανγε-
10 λιας ουσης παντι τω βουλο-
μενω επι τω ήμισει.

Copied first by Mr. Cockerell; published by Walpole, Travels, p. 541, who (line 3) reads δεκα, which, joined to the preceding πολειτευσαμενω, he translates by "was Decurio for the tenth time."

The reading followed in the translation I find confirmed by Prof. Rose, Inscr. Ant., p. 320. ΔΕΚΑ, being distinct in the

two transcripts, seems indeed to be on the stone; but a great many inscriptions, for instance No. 169, line 5, have ΚΑ for ΚΑΙ, either a mistake made in copying or anciently by the stonecutter, or else a distinct dialectic form, as is ΚΕ. The Ϲ (line 9) may be taken either for Σ or for ͵σ, *i. e.* 6000. Δραχμας is read in no other of our inscriptions. See Boeckh, 2782.

No. 173.—Upon a sarcophagus.

ΤΟΜΝΗΜΕΙΟΝΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ
ΤΟΥΝΕΙΚΟΛΑΟΥΤΟΥΠΟΛΥ
ΚΡΑΤΟΥΠΑΤΑΡΕΟΣΚΑΙΤΗΣ
ΓΥΝΑΙΚΟΣΑΥΤΟΥΣΑΡΠΗΔΟ
ΝΙΔΟΣΤΗΣΚΑΙΛΥΚΙΑΣΠΤΟ
ΛΕΜΑΙΟΥΔΙΣΤΟΦΚΑΙΘΩ
ΡΑΚΟΣΠΑΤΑΡΙΔΟΣ

"The monument of Ptolemæus, son of Nicolaus, the son of Polycrates, a citizen of Patara, and of his wife Sarpedonis, also called Lycia, daughter of Ptolemæus twice, who is also called Thorax, a woman of Patara."

The name of Sarpedonis calls to mind the Lycian hero celebrated by Homer; a citizen of Tlos, called Sarpedon, is mentioned in an inscription in Mr. Fellows's Journal, p. 239. In the last line but one ΤΟΦ stands undoubtedly for ΤΟΥ. Thorax seems to be the second name of Lycia's father, not that of her grandfather or great-grandfather.

Nos. 174 to 180.—On seven stones of the same size.

ΑΣΣΙΙΣ ΘΓΓΑΙ ΟΥ ΚΑΥ
ΟΝΚΑΤΕ ΥΑΣΕ ΟΝ ΤΟΝ

ΣΕΞ ΑΡ
ΟΤ·C ΑΣ ΛΑΥΔ

To judge from line 2, [μνημει]ον κατε[σκε]υασε, etc., these scraps belonged to a funereal inscription.

ANTIPHELLUS.

No. 181. Page 185.—On a tomb.

No. 182. Page 186.—On a tomb.

The inscription may be read thus:—

Το μνημειον κατεσκευασατο Ευτυχω-
ν, λογιστευτης[?] του αξιολογωτατου
Μαρ. Αυρ. Πτολεμα[ι]ου ελθοντος Δ, Αν-
τιφελλειτου, ἑα[υ]τω και γυναικι αυτου [?]
5 Ευπολει και τεκνοις αυτων [κ]αι οἷς αν
[ζ]ως ων επιτρεψω. Ις δε το ὑποσοριον
ενκηδευθησονται τα θρεπτα αυτου [?].
Αλλω δε μη [?] εξεστω ενκηδευσαι τι-
νας. [Ο δε π]αρα ταυτα ποιησας ἁμαρτ[ω]λος
10 [ε]σ[τω θ]εοις καταχθονιοις και ισοισει
επιτειμιου τω ἱερωτατω ταμειω ✠ Λφ,
ὁ δε ελενξας λημψεται το τριτον.

The word λογιστευτης, which I propose instead of the unintelligible ΡΑΓΙΝΤΕΥΤΗΣ of the transcript, we read in an inscription at Smyrna, published by Reines. Cl. III. 36. The office of λογιστης, from which that of λογιστευτης can scarcely have differed, *a keeper of accounts*, is often mentioned in connection with the Asiarchæ, who had to regulate the expenditure of the public games (Boeckh, 2741, 2791, 2912), and was, it seems, one of great honour. The translation of ΕΛΘΟΝΤΟΣ Δ (line 3), *coming* (*i. e.* to discharge annual functions) *for the fourth time*, is only conjectural; we might be induced to take Ελθοντος as a proper name, and Δ, as we found elsewhere, as signifying *in the fourth generation*; but, according to general

custom, a Δ with the article ought in that case to precede the name; besides, nobody expects the lineage of Ptolemæus on the tomb of another person. Both *ὑποσοριον* (line 6, and No. 193,) and *σοριον* (No. 55.), from which it is derived, are wanting in our dictionaries. *Ισοισει* (line 10) is to be found in no other of our inscriptions.

No. 183.—On a tomb.

ΤΟΝΤ ΦΟΙΚΑΤΟΙ_ΝΕΚΑΝΜ ΑCΛΨΓΙΟΧΟΥΑΝΤΙΦΕΛΛΕΙΤΙC
ΑΙΙΑΣΩΝΒΜΗΤΡΟΣΑΡΤΕΜΙ ΑΠΕΡΛΕΙΤΗCCΑΥΤΟΙCΚΑΙ
ΓΥΝ ΞΙΝΑΥΤΩΝΚΑΙΤΕΚΝ Τ ΚΑΙΓΥΝΑΙΞΙΝΩΝΕΚΝΩΝ
ΗΜΩ ΣΑΝΚΑΤΑΝΟΜΟΝΕ ΗΕΟ ΨΝΑΛΛΟΕΔΕΟΥΔΕΙC
ΕΝΚΗΔΕ ΥΕΗCΕΤΑΙΕΙΜΟΝΟΝ ΓΡΑΗΜΕΝΟΙΕΑΝΔΕΤΙC
ΤΟΛΜΗC ΙΕΝΚΗΔΕΥCΑΙΤ ΕΥΘΥΝΟΣΕCΤΑΙΤΟΙΣΔΙΑ
ΤΩΘΕΙΩΝΔΙΑ ΩΝ ΩΡΙΣΜΕΝΟΙC

The inscription may be read thus:—

Τον ταφον κατεσκευακαν Αινειας [?], Αντιοχου, Αντιφελλειτης [κ-]
αι Ιασων β, μητρος Αρτεμιου [?], Αντιφελλειτης αυτοις και
γυναιξιν αυτων και τεκνοις και γυναιξιν [τ]ων τεκνων
ἡμω[ν και οἱ]ς αν κατα νομον [συνχωρ]ησο[με]ν. Αλλος δε ουδεις
ενκηδευθησεται, ει μονον [οἱ προγε]γραμμενοι. Εαν δε τις
τολμησει ενκηδευσαι τ[ινα], ευθυνος εσται τοις δια
τω[ν] θειων, δι' α[ρχει]ων [δι]ωρισμενοις.

"Æneas [?], son of Antiochus, a citizen of Antiphellus, and Iason twice (*i. e.* son or grandson of another Iason), his mother being Artemion [?], a citizen of Antiphellus; for ourselves and our wives and children, and our children's wives, and to whom we may legally give leave. But nobody else shall be buried [here] except the aforesaid. But he who shall attempt to bury another shall be liable to the [penalties] set down in the archives, according to divine [laws]."

In the original transcript the ΤΝ and ΤΗ are joined into monograms; hence the translation takes the word at the end of

line 1, as Αντιφελλειτης; line 3 shows that Αντιφελλειτις, *a woman of Antiphellus*, cannot be placed there. The restorations, οἷς αν κατα νομον συνχωρησομεν (line 4), and δια των θειων . . . . . διωρισμενοις (line 7), are without precedent. The change from the third person (lines 1 to 3) into the first (lines 4, 5) is not unusual in inscriptions (see our No. 109, and Osann. Sylloge Inscrp., 436, lxxxxv.). Ει μονον of line 5, signifying *except*, just as ειμη μονον of Inscr. 158. 167, is remarkable.

MYRA.

No. 184. Page 201.—On the mullion of a rock-tomb.

At the beginning we may read τουτο το μ[νημει]ον κατεσκ[ευασεν]; lines 7 to 10, θυσιων . . . πολις θυει . . . . [τε]κνοις αυτης . . . γαμβροις; from line 13, και τα τεκνα και οἱ γαμβροι αυτης. Εαν δε τις βιασηται ανοιξαι το μνημειον τουτο παρ' εὑρεσιν (see No. 44. line 11); then perhaps [μητε] ἡ γη ενεγκη [αυτω] καρπον μητε [θαλασσα πλωτη η, etc.]: the concluding lines, probably inferior in breadth to those preceding, contain something of ἁμαρτ[ωλος εστω?] . . . . εις τους θεους.

No. 185. Page 202.—Within the door-frame of a tomb.

LIMYRA.

Nos. 186 and 187. Page 207.—On tombs.

ARYCANDA.

No. 188. Page 222.

No. 189. Page 224.

No. 190.—On a tomb.

ΤΟΙ
ΕΜΒΑΙΝΕΤΩ

MILYAS.

No. 191. Page 233.—Cut into the rock.

YEEILASSIES.

No. 192. Page 236.—On a pedestal.

No. 193. Page 238.—On a fragment, among sarcophagi.

Line 2 we read *ὑποσωριον*, as in No. 182. *

RHODES.

No. 194. Page 244.—On a pedestal.

Published by Boeckh, 2552, who reads thus:—

Λυσανδρου Λυσανδρου
Χαλκητα και τας γυναικος
Κλεαινιδος, Καλλικρατιδα,
Κρυασσιδος.

No. 195. Page 244.

SATALA-YEEILASSY.

No. 196. Page 250.—On a column.

GULE-HISSA-OVASSY.

No. 197. Page 257.

No. 198. Page 264.—On a pedestal.

The inscription may be read thus :—

Μ. Ουλπιον, Ζ[η-]
νωνος υἱον, Κυρεινα,
Τρυφωνα, μεγαν Αντω[νι-]
νιανον αρχιερεα της Α-
5 σιας, χειλιαρχησαντα
και γενομενον επα[ρ-]
χον σπειρης πρωτης
Ουλπιας Γαλατων, εν
πασιν πρωτον της πο-
10 λεως τε και της επαρχε[ι-]
ας, τον ευεργετην της
πατριδος ἡ βουλη και ὁ
δημος· την αναστα-
σιν ποιησαμενης
15 Αντωνιας Αριστης Λα-
διλλης [?], της εγγονης αυτου
εκ των ιδιων.

ΑΝΤΩΝΙΑΝΟΝ (lines 3 and 4) stands undoubtedly, as it does in a great many inscriptions, instead of ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝΙΑΝΟΝ, owing either to an oversight of the stonecutter, or to an euphonic change. On the coins of Byzantium the games *Αντωνεια Σεβαστα* are mentioned in the time of Alexander Severus (Eckhel D. N. IV. p. 436). The coins of several important cities of Asia, and an interesting inscription at Laodicea, published by Chandler, page 92, show that throughout Asia the greatest honours were paid, by the institution of public exhibitions, to the name of Antoninus. This was borne by eight Roman emperors; those known to us under the names of Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, Commodus, Caracalla, Diadumenianus, Elagabalus, Alexander Severus, and Annius Galerius. Antoninus Pius was in his youth Pro-consul of Asia, and won there general esteem and affection (Capitolin. Vit. Ant. c. 7; Murator. Corp. Inscr., p. 232, 3); but probable as it is that Grecian flattery offered to him the highest honours it could bestow, it is improbable that he accepted them. The same may be said of his successor, M. Aurelius; but of course not of those who followed. Commodus had games celebrated to his honour, but they were called *Commodea*. It is to Caracalla or Elagabalus that Eckhel, *l. c.*, refers the games *Antoniniana*; and the name Antoniniana, which several legions assumed, is most probably derived from the former of these worthless Antonines. These facts make it probable that the "Antoninian High-priest of Asia" presided at the worship of Caracalla.

No. 199. Page 265.

HIERAPOLIS.

No. 200.—In the cornice of the theatre.

ΚΟΥΤΑΡΙΠΙΣΡΗΝΕΥΤΥΧΙΙΚΑΙΜΑΚΑΡΙΑΝΥΠΑΤΙ

This line may perhaps be read thus:—

[Αυτοκρατορα?] Ευσεβη.... Ευτυχη και Μακαριαν Ὑπατι[κην].

"[... the Emperor?], the Pious, the Happy, and Macaria, a lady of consular family."

No. 201. Page 271.

No. 202. Page 270.

The word **ΕΥΠΟΣΙΑΝ** (lines 2 and 3) is not to be found in any of our dictionaries, but it is borne out in some respects by **ΕΥΠΟΣΙΑΡΧΗΣ**, read in the following sepulchral inscription, a transcript of which I owe to the kindness of J. Yates, Esq. It is written on a tablet of white marble, brought from Smyrna, and now to be seen at Ince-Blundell, the seat of Weld Blundell, Esq., in Lancashire.

ΟΥΛΠΙΟΣ ΙΟΥΛΙ · ΤΡΟΦΙΜΟΣ
ΣΜΥΡΝΑΙΟΣ ΒΟΥΛΕΥΤΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΕΥΠΟΣΙ
ΑΡΧΗΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΡΥΤΑΝΙΣ ΗΓΟΡΑΣΑ ΤΟ ΗΡΩΟ[Ν]
ΚΑΙ ΤΗΝ ΣΟΡΟΝ ΠΡΟΣ[Η]ΓΟΡΑΣΑ ΚΑΤΕΣΚΕΥ
ΑΣΑ[Σ] ΑΥΤΩ ΚΑΙ ΤΗ ΓΥΝΑΙΚΙ ΜΟΥ ΤΥΧΗ ΚΑΙ ΤΕΚΝΟ[ΙΣ]
ΚΑΙ ΕΓΓΟΝΟΙΣ ΚΑΙ ΘΡΕΜΜΑΣΙ ΜΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΑΠΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΟΙ[Σ]
ΜΗΔΕΝΟΣ ΕΤΕΡΟΥ ΕΧΟΝΤ[ΟΣ] ΕΞΟΥΣΙΑΝ ΜΗΤΕ ΘΑ
ΨΑΙ ΤΙΝΑ ΕΤΕΡΟΝ ΜΗΤΕ ΠΩΛΗΣΑΙ ΤΙ ΕΞ ΑΥΤΩΝ ΕΙ ΔΕ ΤΙΣ
ΤΟΡΜΗΣΕΙ ΤΙ ΤΟΙΟΥΤΟ ΠΟΙΗΣΑΙ ΘΗΣΕΙ ΜΗΤΡΙ ΘΕΩΝ ΣΙ
ΠΥΛΗΝΗ ✱ /ΙΕ

APPENDIX B.

A COMMUNICATION TO THE AUTHOR FROM DANIEL SHARPE, ESQ., ON THE LYCIAN INSCRIPTIONS.

Adelphi Terrace, February 24, 1841.

My dear Sir,

After spending some time in endeavouring to translate the inscriptions which you have brought home from Lycia, I have only succeeded in obtaining a very slight idea of the language in which they are written; yet as what I have done will relieve from some preliminary labour those who may wish to take up the same study, I send you all the information which I can give relating to them, coupled with a variety of remarks which have suggested themselves in the course of the inquiry.

The inscriptions copied by Mr. Cockerell, and published in the Appendix to Mr. Walpole's Travels, were the first inscriptions in the Lycian language made known in Europe. They do not contain enough to allow of a complete alphabet being deduced from them, and are so imperfect that no correct value could be assigned to the characters used in them. Nevertheless they attracted much attention, and several attempts were made to discover the language in which they are written.

M. Saint Martin published a memoir in the Journal des Savans for April 1821, entitled *Observations sur les Inscriptions Lyciennes découvertes par M. Cockerell*, in which he conjec-

tured that in the bilingual inscription from Limyra, of which you have since brought us another copy (Plate XXXVI. No. 3), the Greek was nearly a literal translation of the Lycian; and he attempted to explain several of the Lycian words by comparing them to Syriac and Phœnician.

In 1831 a paper on the same subject by Dr. F. A. Grotefend was read to the Royal Asiatic Society, which is published in the third volume of their Transactions. Dr. Grotefend compared together the five Lycian inscriptions then known, and concluded from the declension of the only verb occurring in them, that Lycian belongs to the family of Indo-Germanic languages, and that like Persian it has both long and short vowels.

The materials which you have since brought home so entirely alter the spelling of most of the words contained in these inscriptions, that it is unnecessary to analyse the contents of these two memoirs; but I cannot refrain from expressing my admiration at the sagacity with which Dr. Grotefend drew such correct conclusions from the slight materials which he had before him.

The inscriptions which you copied in your first tour in 1838, and published on your return in 1839, of which three are in excellent preservation, might have given a better clue to the language: yet these, in addition to what were before known, hardly afford sufficient materials for forming an alphabet with certainty. Several of the letters must have remained altogether undetermined, and the value of some others uncertain: the very peculiar use of the letter **B** could not have been found out, and, until this was done, the analogies between many of the words could not be discovered.

At this stage of the subject, Mr. James Yates read Memoirs upon the Lycian Inscriptions to the Royal Society of Literature and the Philological Society of London, which have not yet been published, but which are noticed in the Athenæum of March 9, 1839.

When you had the kindness to furnish me with copies of all

the inscriptions which you had met with in your second visit to Lycia, I felt persuaded that sufficient materials were collected for investigating the subject satisfactorily. The number, variety and length of the inscriptions is very considerable, the characters are distinct, and the care with which you have copied them is beyond all praise. In addition to the bilingual inscription at Limyra, we have the assistance of the bas-relief engraved in Plate VII., in which several names occur both in Greek and Lycian characters, determining the sound of several of the letters with certainty; and the Lycian coins afford further help of the same kind.

The first step was to frame an alphabet: several of the letters were determined by their use on the bas-relief just mentioned; others by comparing the names of the towns given us by the Greek geographers with those on the Lycian coins and on the inscriptions on the obelisk at Xanthus (Plate XX.); on the same monument two names occur both in Greek and Lycian. The remaining letters were determined either by their resemblance to the Greek or by the usual process of deciphering.

The search after the alphabet led to a complete examination of the Lycian coins, the results of which are given below, accompanied with some observations upon several geographical names which occur in the inscriptions.

I then commenced, as my predecessors had done, upon the bilingual inscription from Limyra, but with the advantage of being able to correct its imperfections from other inscriptions of similar import, of which you had brought perfect copies; these furnished the correct spelling of the words translated into Greek in this inscription. My interpretations agree in a great degree with those previously given; the differences will be stated hereafter.

I began with the impression that the language was derived from Phœnician, but was soon staggered in this opinion by the abundance of vowels in Lycian, of which there are ten, nearly corresponding to the long and short vowels of the Persian and

Indian languages. The manner of declension of the pronouns and nouns, and of the conjugation of the verbs, soon convinced me, while working upon the forms of words of which the meaning was quite unknown, that Lycian was one of that large family of languages to which the German philologists have given the name of *Indo-Germanic*.

The abundance of vowels then suggested a comparison with the Zend language: the result was the conviction that Lycian has a greater resemblance to Zend than to any other known language, but that it differs too much to be considered as a dialect of Zend, and must rank as a separate language.

Of the few words which are determined with some approach to certainty, several resemble Sanscrit more nearly than Zend, and others are certainly of a Semitic origin; yet these last are completely adopted into the language, and are declined in the same manner as the words of a Persian or Indian origin, without altering the structure of the language, which is thoroughly Indo-Germanic. The close neighbourhood of Syria readily accounts for the introduction of Semitic words into the language of any part of Asia Minor.

Mr. Walpole has brought together in the Appendix to his Travels all the quotations from the ancient authors which bear upon the origin and language of the Lycians; we should infer from them, that the people were a mixture of Greeks, Phœnicians and Persians; but the two first races are mentioned more frequently than the Persian. The Greeks were a maritime people, they settled along the coast of Asia Minor, and penetrated but little into the country; the Phœnicians also spread themselves along the same coast, and thus these two people were constantly in contact, while the Greeks had less communication with the people of Persian race in the interior, and have left little mention of their acquaintance with them.

As I shall frequently have occasion to refer to the Zend language, which is probably unknown to most of your readers, it will not be amiss to state what is known of it, and what means

we have of applying it towards the explanation of the Lycian inscriptions.

The only works extant in Zend are some portions of the books attributed to Zoroaster, which were brought from Surat by Anquetil du Perron, about eighty years ago, and placed in the Royal Library at Paris. In 1771 he published a translation of these and of some other religious books of the Parsees under the title of "Zend-Avesta," the name by which the principal work is known to the Parsees: from the title of this book the language has taken its modern name. Some of these works were perhaps written by Zoroaster, others are more modern; but there is great uncertainty about the period when their author lived. The account most generally received, is that he lived in the sixth century before our æra. The works themselves afford internal evidence that he was a native of Media, and therefore it may be presumed that his writings are in the ancient language of that country.

Zend became in process of time a dead language, and the books of Zoroaster were translated into Pehlvi, in which they still exist, as well as in the original. This language is also a subject of great uncertainty; it is thought to have been spoken in the southern provinces of the Persian empire two or three centuries after our æra, and to have become a dead language about the time of the Mahometan conquest of Persia. Pehlvi differs very materially from Zend, being principally of Semitic origin, of which Zend has no trace; yet many Zend words have passed into it, and modern Persian contains much that is derived from both.

The Parsees, who fled to India to preserve their religion, which was prohibited by the Mahometan conquerors of Persia, brought their sacred books with them, and continued to study Pehlvi, but they lost nearly all knowledge of Zend, and only kept up a traditional translation of the Zend-Avesta. Anquetil's whole knowledge of both languages was derived from the Parsee priests, and he only learned what they could teach;

he has given as a translation, and, as a vocabulary of both languages, a strange mixture of information and absurdity, carelessly put together without the slightest attention to the rules of grammar; to this we are obliged to refer for assistance until we have some better guide to the subject, but it is never safe to rely upon him. The manner in which he produced his discoveries inspired so little confidence at the time, that Sir W. Jones declared that the books were forgeries which had been palmed upon his credulity by the Parsees.

M. Burnouf has lately undertaken a complete study of the Zend language, and has published the first volume of his *Commentaire sur le Yaçna*, in which he has analysed every word of the original in the most learned manner, showing the near relation between Zend and Sanscrit, and removing all doubts as to the authenticity and antiquity of the Zend-Avesta. If this excellent work were finished, there would be no reason to complain of the want of materials for the study of the Zend language; but as the portion yet commented upon is very small, we have still no guide to much of the remainder, except the work of Anquetil du Perron. Much information on the declension of the Zend nouns is contained in F. Bopp's *Vergleichende Grammatik des Sanscrit, Zend, Griechischen*, &c., and when this work is finished, the student will be in a better position than he is in at present.

For the study of Pehlvi, there is, as far as I am aware, no other assistance than that afforded by Anquetil.

The celebrated inscriptions in arrow-headed or cuneiform characters, found at Persepolis and elsewhere, are written in three languages: Dr. Grotefend, Professor Lassen, and M. Burnouf have made great progress in translating one of these, which approaches very nearly to Zend. M. Burnouf's *Mémoire sur quelques Inscriptions Cunéiformes* gives a masterly analysis of some of these inscriptions, and contains the best information concerning their language, which has been called Persepolitan. The principal inscriptions which have as yet been translated,

are of the reigns of Darius Hystaspes, and Xerxes. As these are nearly of the period to which I refer the monuments which you have copied in Lycia, their comparison is of great interest; but there are only a few sentences yet translated from the Persepolitan upon which much reliance can be placed, and these are still open to correction. As far as I can judge, Lycian appears to have more resemblance to Zend than to Persepolitan: the relative position of the countries in which the three tongues were spoken, coincides with this; Media, the country of the Zend language, separating Persia proper from Asia Minor: yet all three are of the same family, which we may call Persian. There are some peculiarities, which will be mentioned hereafter, in the manner in which the Persepolitan nouns are declined, very analogous to what we find in Lycian, and which show that the two languages were at the same stage of grammatical development.

Having thus pointed out what assistance is to be found towards the study of the Lycian language, I return to the description of the inscriptions, and to a statement of such of their contents as I am able to understand.

The inscriptions published in your Journal of 1838, and those given at Plate XXXVI. of the present volume, are mostly funereal; they contain little information in themselves, yet are of great value; for being in short sentences, of which the subject is partially known, they are of the greatest assistance in studying the language; they also prove that the language in question was that of the people of Lycia, and not merely of their Persian conquerors. The inscription numbered 23 is an exception, being either a decree or some other public document; but it is too imperfect to be at all understood.

The inscriptions which are of the greatest interest of the whole collection, are those given in Plate XX., covering the four sides of a square monument which you have called the Obelisk at Xanthus. It is not improbable that this may have been one of the fire altars of the Persian religion, and the hatred of the

people against their conquerors may have induced them to throw it down when they recovered their independence, leaving it in its present broken state.

I can make out just enough of the inscriptions on this monument to see how much historical information will be derived from them whenever they are fully translated, yet not enough to form any complete ideas of their contents. The writing on the different sides of the monument refers to very various subjects; there is sufficient difference in the form of the letters to show that they were done by several artists: there is also a change in the use of some of the letters, which makes it probable that a considerable period elapsed between the cutting of the four inscriptions, during which time a change of pronunciation was going on in the language. This is a source of great difficulty, but has the advantage of giving a clue to the relative ages of the inscriptions, as shall shortly be explained more at length.

The inscription on the north-east side is not complete at the top: the first four lines which remain are in Lycian characters, the next eleven lines are in Greek, the rest is all Lycian, but this does not contain a translation of the Greek part of the inscription. It seems probable, from this arrangement, that the upper part of the inscription, which is lost, contained in Lycian the translation of what follows in Greek; but the few broken lines of this part remaining are too imperfect to be of any assistance; indeed in the last of these lines the Greek and Lycian characters are mixed up together in strange confusion.

The Greek inscription is not legible; we can just collect from it that it is an order addressed to the Lycians, in the first person, by some sovereign: the only person mentioned is a son of Arpagus, whose name is lost, and who is spoken of as a prince or governor, and to whom, perhaps, a portion of the kingdom was given in charge by a preceding sovereign. It is much to be hoped that some future traveller will bring home as accurate a copy as possible of this inscription, and will endeavour to turn

over the broken top of the monument, in hopes of finding on its under surface the upper part of the Lycian inscription, for no ancient inscription with which we are acquainted contains information of greater historical value than may be expected here; and when we see how much progress has been made in the language from the bilingual inscription of three lines long which we have already, we may expect that a document of this length, accompanied by a Greek translation, would enable us to understand nearly all the remaining inscriptions. The line in Lycian which follows immediately after the Greek, is to this effect: "Transcripts of the greatest decree of the King of kings;" showing that the decrees on the upper part of the monument emanate from the king of Persia; what follows being probably issued by the local governor. We have so little direct information relating to the Persian history or government, that it is unnecessary to say more to show the interest which attaches to this monument. The name of Arppagos occurs divided between the 26th and 27th line of the same side of the obelisk, and the words *son of Arppagos* are found in the 24th line of the south-west side, where also the son's name is wanting, owing to the imperfection of the stone. The words *King of kings* occur frequently on the north-east and north-west sides of the monument, and on the same sides we find frequently repeated the name of Aoûra, or Aoûremez, the chief divinity of the Persian fire-worshipers, whose name was gradually contracted from Ahora Mazda to Ormuzd.

Arina, the ancient name of Xanthus (*Arna* of Stephanus Byzantinus), where this monument stands, occurs both in the Greek and Lycian parts of the inscription; and many of the neighbouring towns are frequently mentioned, but instead of the term Lycia or Lycians, the Tramelae and the Trocs are mentioned; these two people appearing to divide between them the country called by the Greeks Lycia; a division corresponding to that which we find in Homer between the Lycians commanded by Sarpedon and Glaucus, and those commanded by

Pandarus, the son of Lycaon. These names will be considered more fully when we come to that part of the subject which relates to the geography of the country.

In the first book of Herodotus, cap. 171 to 177, is an account of the conquest of Lycia, and of all the southern parts of Asia Minor by Harpagus, a Mede commanding under Cyrus the Great, with a long and romantic description of his taking Xanthus, where this monument stands. It seems probable that Cyrus would appoint Harpagus governor of the countries which he had conquered for him; if I read correctly in the seventh line of the Greek the words *δοκε μερος βασιλεας*, and couple this expression with the statement of Herodotus, and in particular with his statement at c. 177, that "Harpagus overran Lower Asia, while Cyrus himself conquered all the nations of Upper Asia," it will not be too bold a conjecture to suppose that in this decree one of Cyrus's successors alludes to Cyrus having conferred upon Harpagus the government of a portion of his kingdom, and appoints the son of Harpagus to the same office. The few words which I make out here and there in these two sides of the monument, lead me to suppose that it contains a series of decrees relating to the settlement of the country after the conquest by the Persians, and to the manner in which the people of the two races and religions are to live together. The Medes and Lycians are frequently used in opposition to one another; and in one passage a distinction is drawn between the worshipers and the opponents of Ormuzd; but I have not made out whether they are enjoined to live peaceably together, or whether the worship of Ormuzd is to be enforced upon the conquered Lycians.

The inscriptions on the south-west and south-east sides of the monument relate to very different matters; there is no mention of Ormuzd, nor of the King of kings, in those parts of the inscriptions which remain, but no very certain conclusions can be drawn from these omissions, as the upper part of both those sides is wanting. It can hardly be doubted that they were in-

scribed while the country was still under the same government, as it is on the south-west that we meet with the "*son of Arpagos*," and the word *Shah*, King, or Governor, occurs several times on the south-east; on this latter side a word occurs twice which has a great resemblance to Xerxes, but being unaccompanied by any titles, I hesitate adopting it as that king's name. The lower part of the south-west inscription contains a number of names of towns and people, accompanied by locative prepositions, from which it may be inferred that it is a decree settling the boundaries of the townships.

According to the chronology usually received, Cyrus the Great ascended the throne of Persia in the year 559 B.C., and died 530 B.C. Harpagus was not a young man when the former event took place: supposing this monument to have been erected in the lifetime of the son of Harpagus, and after the death of Cyrus, its date will be fixed approximately between 530 and 500 B.C.; it cannot be put much later without allowing to Harpagus or to his son a life beyond the usual average.

You must bear in mind, that until the inscriptions are fully translated, it will remain uncertain whether the Arpagus mentioned in them is really the same person as Cyrus's general. Herodotus mentions another Persian general of the same name, who commanded in Ionia under the orders of Artaphernes, the governor of Sardis in the time of Darius Hystaspes (Book VI, c. 28 and 30), and there are many instances of names being hereditary in the Persian families, and descending to the grandson in alternate generations. Nevertheless it is extremely probable, from what has been already advanced, that the Arpagus named in the inscription is the general whose conquest of Lycia under Cyrus's orders is related by Herodotus.

We have thus obtained an approximate date to one of the Lycian monuments, but before attempting to fix the age of the others, it is necessary to examine the coins, and to class them in chronological order, as they will throw some light upon the

relative dates of the inscriptions. For this purpose we must take a slight review of the history of the country.

In the time of Homer the religion of Lycia was similar to that of the Greeks, and we know of nothing likely to produce any change in it until the conquest of Lycia by the Persians in the reign of Cyrus, about 550 B.C. This event must have had a great effect upon the condition of the country, which could only recover its flourishing condition after some time. We see also by the inscriptions that the Persians introduced the worship of Ormuzd. The account of the conquest given by Herodotus does not show that the Lycians were left to govern themselves as tributaries, but rather implies that they were entirely put down; so that it is probable that the towns then ceased to coin money in their own names, which they could only do while they governed themselves under their own laws. Thus we know that the cities of Ionia, which, although tributaries to Persia, coined their own money, were governed by their native princes or magistrates. The time is not mentioned at which the Lycians regained the power of governing themselves, but as they did not become independent of Persia, we can only suppose that their condition improved with the weakness of the Persian empire, after the defeat of the expedition of Xerxes against Greece, and that they gradually recovered their liberties sufficiently to become tributaries instead of subjects, in which state they must have continued until the time of Alexander, when the free cities of Asia Minor lost their liberties in the general fall of Greece and of Persia. At the division of territory which took place on the death of Alexander, 323 B.C., Lycia became part of the portion of Antigonus (Diodorus Siculus, book xviii. c. 3 and 5). It changed masters several times in the wars between Alexander's successors, but as these changes hardly bear upon our subject it is not necessary to trace them. After the victory of Cn. Manlius over Antiochus the Great, the Romans gave the greater part of Lycia to the

Rhodians, in return for their good services (Livy, book xxxviii. c. 39), but the Rhodians having offended the Romans during their war with Perseus of Macedon, the Senate passed a decree declaring Lycia and Caria free (Livy, book xliv. c. 15), either in 168 B.C. or the following year. Strabo, book xiv., describes the form of government adopted by the Lycians: twenty-three cities, of which the principal were Xanthus, Patara, Pinara, Olympus, Myra and Tlos, were united in a league and governed by a congress, which elected a Lysiarch or President and other magistrates: formerly, adds Strabo, the congress decided upon peace and war, but now they cannot do so without permission from the Romans. In this state of semi-independence Lycia continued until its liberties were taken away by the Emperor Claudius (Suetonius in Claudius, c. 25).

There are thus three periods marked out by history during which the Lycians were sufficiently independent to manage their internal affairs and coin their own money; and their coins may be easily classed accordingly. The first ends with the Persian conquest, about 550 B.C.; to this period may be referred the coins of a very early style of workmanship, struck in the names of the cities, with Lycian characters; they have all on one side a three-armed instrument of unknown use, which has been named by antiquarians a *triquetra*, and the emblems on the reverse are suitable to the early religion of the country. On these coins the letter B is frequently used as a vowel, and the letter + does not occur. To this class belong all the coins figured in Plate XXXVII.

The second period is from their rise after the Persian conquest to the time of Alexander. To this belong the coins Nos. 26 and 27. They bear the names of cities in Lycian characters, but the letter + is already in use, and B has ceased to be used as a vowel. The triquetra has gone out of fashion, and different divinities occur on the reverses: but neither on these nor the former series do we find any emblems of Apollo. The workmanship is very good, and so fully distinguishes them from

those of the first period, that a long interval must have passed between their manufacture.

The third period is that of the Lycian league, which lasted two centuries, from about 168 B.C. to 50 A.D. To this belong all the coins with Greek characters, having the word Λυκιων in addition to the name of the city: none have the triquetra, and their symbols are all referable to the worship of Apollo: their workmanship is good. These coins are found of most of the Lycian cities, as may be seen in Mionnet's *Déscription des Médailles antiques*. The use of the Greek characters would nearly suffice to prove these coins posterior to the Macedonian conquest; but the word Λυκιων in addition to the town leaves no doubt of their age, since it shows the money to have been struck by a republican government which extended over the whole country; a state of things which only existed under the Lycian league at the period referred to. The cities which belonged to the Achæan league used a similar form on their copper money, which bears the word Αχαιων besides the name of the town issuing it.

The worship of Ormuzd seems to have had no hold of the feelings of the Lycians, as the coins of the second period bear evidence that in recovering their independence the people returned to their former religion. Apollo is mentioned by Homer in connexion with Lycia, but his worship became more general in the country after it was conquered by the Macedonians, who were noted for their attachment to that divinity.

Great difference prevails in the different inscriptions in the use of the letters B and +, arising apparently from some alteration in the language or its pronunciation; a similar difference exists on the coins, where the style of workmanship affords the means of arranging them according to their relative dates; so that we are enabled to judge of the relative ages of the inscriptfons by adopting the use of those letters as a test. Had the Lycian inscriptions all been accompanied by sculpture, the style of the art would have answered the same purpose; but as

the only inscription to which a date can be assigned from historical evidence has no sculpture connected with it, the letters must form our guide to the relative age of the others, which may be checked by comparing the bas-reliefs with Grecian works of which the age is known. Judging from these grounds, it will follow that the most ancient of the inscriptions which you have copied are those on the north-east and north-west sides of the obelisk at Xanthus, of which I suppose the date to be about 500 B.C. The inscription which comes nearest to them is below the battle-scene, Plate XXXI., then follow the south-west and south-east sides of the obelisk at Xanthus. I can trace no difference between these last and the short inscriptions on the tomb of Payarn, on which the sculpture is of great beauty, as may be seen in the frontispiece of your former Tour and Plate XXIII. of the present volume. The funereal inscriptions at Plate XXXVI. are mostly still more modern.

It is obvious that these opinions, drawn from half-understood inscriptions, are little to be relied on; but the interest attached to the sculpture is so great that I feel myself called upon to state them. Those who have studied Grecian art must decide whether the workmanship of the Lycian bas-reliefs coincides with the dates deduced from the study of the inscriptions.

The use of stops to separate the words, and of the letters Ω and H in the accompanying Greek, have been thought inconsistent with the date of 500 B.C. here assigned to one of the Lycian inscriptions. Either of these peculiarities occurring on a monument found in Greece would be sufficient to fix its date as much more modern. The first objection is easily answered; although the Greeks used points between the words only at a very late period, the Persians made use of them as early as the reign of Darius Hystaspes, and perhaps much earlier, for they are found in all the arrow-headed inscriptions; the practice continued in Persia till more modern times, as all the manuscripts of the Zend-Avesta are stopped in a similar manner.

Therefore these stops prove, not the modern date, but the Asiatic character of the Lycian inscriptions.

The objection derived from the letters Ω and H is not so easily got rid of: there is good reason to believe that those letters were not used in Greece till after 400 B.C., but it is not known when they were introduced into Asia Minor. It is probable that the Asiatic Greeks, who lived among nations whose languages abounded with long and short vowels, would be the first to make use of them in their own language, and that from them the Ω and H spread into Greece. Until more is known upon the subject, the use of these letters in an Asiatic inscription cannot determine its date, especially in contradiction to other evidence.

That I may not exhaust your patience by the length of this letter, I have omitted all matters of detail, which will be found arranged separately, as follows:—

1. The Lycian Alphabet.

2. The Coins of Lycia, and the names of the people and towns.

3. The Inscriptions, which I have given in Roman characters with translations of such parts as I can make out.

In considering the alphabet, I have been much struck by the great resemblance between the Lycian and the Etruscan letters; if this resemblance were only found in those characters which both people have copied from the Greeks, it would be of little moment; but it extends also to several characters which are not in the Greek alphabet. The letters on various coins attributed to Cilicia, have a still greater identity with those of Etruria. It may be proved from a comparison of the alphabets, that the Etruscans derived their characters from Asia Minor and not from Greece. This goes far towards confirming the account given by Herodotus of the Lydian origin of the Etruscans, but the doubts respecting it can only be removed when the Etruscan language is sufficiently understood for us to trace its origin.

I now take leave of the subject, tantalized with the faint

LYCIAN ALPHABET.

Lycian letters	Supposed force	Letters related to them in Greek	Zend
A . P	*ā long*	A	*ā*
X	*ă short*		*a*
↑	*ē long*	H	*ē ē*
E	*ĕ short*	E	*ĕ*
I	*ī long or y*	I	*ī y*
Ξ	*ĭ short*	I	*i*
B . b	*oû. w*		
+	*oû. w & perhaps h*	Ω	*v. w. h. ō. âo*
Ꞁ. ⋇. Ⅎ	*oû. w*		
O . ◇	*o short*	O	*o*
Ψ. Ψ. Ψ. Ψ. Ψ. ⋮	*u probably long*		*û*
⋇ Ψ. Ψ. Ψ. Ψ. Ψ	*u probably short*	Y	*u*
Ψ. Ψ. Ψ. <. >	*g hard*	Γ	*g. gh*
Δ	*d*	Δ	*d. dh*
Ꞁ	*z*	Z	*z. s*
K	*k*	K	*k. kh. q*
Λ	*l*	Λ	
M. M. Ⅲ	*m*	M	*m*
N. N. N. N	*n*	N	*n*
Γ. ⊢. Γ	*p*	Π	*p. b*
P	*r*	P	*r*
S. S. S	*s prob^y pronounced sh.*	Σ	*s. ś. sh*
T	*t*	T . Θ	*t. t. th. d. dh*
F	*f*	F . Π	*f*
Ꞁ	*ch or k*	Ꞁ	*ch. tch*

The following letters are not included in the table **Greek** Φ. Ψ **Zend** *ā. ḡ. ng. n̄. ḍ. ṭ*

The character ⊃ *is used in the* **Lycian** *inscriptions as a step* — ⁝ *to separate the words.*

The characters ⋎. ⋎. ⊢ *seem to be imperfectly copied instead of* Ψ. E *or* F.

A.⊢ P.B Ξ.+.E Ξ.Ꞁ E.F M.N ↑.^.Δ Ψ.Ψ

are letters liable to be mistaken in copying.

glimpse which I have obtained of it, and in hopes that it may be taken up by some good Oriental scholar whose previous knowledge of the languages related to Lycian may be sufficient to carry him over all those difficulties which I cannot surmount.

I remain, My dear Sir,

Very truly yours,

To Charles Fellows, Esq. DANIEL SHARPE.

THE LYCIAN ALPHABET.

Many of the characters used by the Lycians resemble those of the early Greek inscriptions; others vary slightly from the Greek letters in form, but several have no resemblance to them, and must have expressed sounds for which their Greek contemporaries had no occasion.

The vowels and semivowels are as follows:—

A or ᴀ, answering to the Greek alpha, the Persian alif and the long A in Zend. The first form is evidently derived from the Greek, the second is used in its place on two tombs at Limyra (Plate XXXVI. Nos. 7 and 8), perhaps only by a whim of the artist.

X, a short or soft A; its form has a resemblance to the A in some Phœnician inscriptions; its sound is determined by its occurrence in the words XΞPW and TPXMEΛ⍋; the first, ĂOURU*, is part of the name of Ormuzd, in Zend *Ahura*, which begins with a short A; the other, written by the Greeks Τρεμιλαι, is the Asiatic name of a portion of the people of Lycia:

* When OU occurs in this paper it should be expressed OÛ.

here this letter is rendered in Greek by *epsilon*, there being no nearer sound to it in that language. The Lycian alphabet has E to express *epsilon*, so that X can only be a short A.

⍋ a long E, closely allied to the Greek H, and probably aspirated when at the beginning of a word. The name of Heraclea on the coins (Nos. 3 and 9, Plate XXXVII.) is written ⍋PEKΛ⍋, which can leave no doubt as to the force of the letter. On the bas-relief, page 116, the name of EKATOMNAΣ, when transcribed in Lycian, begins with this letter, which thus is made to answer to an aspirated E in Greek. This character is found on a few of the early Etruscan monuments, where Lanzi thought it a numeral (*Saggio di Lingua Etrusca*, vol. i. p. 167). It is also found united with letters strongly resembling Phœnician, on several coins of unknown towns, supposed to have been Cilician.

E, taken from the Greek epsilon, and answering to the short E of the Eastern languages.

I, a long I; it is generally, and perhaps always, followed by a vowel, as the instances to the contrary may arise from mistakes, to which this letter is particularly subject from its simple form; it occurs very frequently between two vowels, where its force must have been nearly that of our Y. To distinguish it from the short I, it has been uniformly rendered Y.

Ξ, a short I; its exact value was first determined in APΞNA, the ancient name of Xanthus, which occurs both in the Greek and Lycian parts of the obelisk at that place, and also on a coin of the same town; Stephanus Byzantinus calls this name Αρνα, which proves that the vowel dropped in his time must have been a short one. Both the preceding letters seem to have been derived from the Greek *iota*, with slight modifications in form, to create a distinction between them.

O or ◊, the Greek *omicron* and short O of the Zend alphabet; the second form, which occurs rarely in our inscriptions, is found both on early Greek and Etruscan monuments.

B or *b*, +, and ✱, ‡ or Ξ, are letters which, without being

exactly identical, are very much interchanged; they are the cause of great difficulty in deciphering the Lycian inscriptions, which is much increased by their being used in a different manner on different monuments. Although there are here six forms, they are in reality only three letters, the first and second being identical, and the three last mere varintions of one letter; we will therefore only take into consideration the commonest form of each.

B is evidently copied from the Greek *beta*, and it would naturally be supposed identical with that letter; but it frequently occurs as a vowel, as, for instance, in the name of the town TPBBWNEME, of which the coins are not uncommon (Plate XXXVII., Nos. 1, 5, 19 and 20), and which is also named on the obelisk at Xanthus. I shall shortly show that this can be no other than the town afterwards called by the Greeks ΤΛΩΣ, and that its inhabitants were either called Τρωσσες or Τρωες. As it will be necessary to enter into this subject at some length when I come to the examination of the Lycian coins, I will, to avoid repetition, refer you to what is there stated. Besides this vowel sound of B answering nearly to the Greek *omega*, it is also very frequently a consonant. This double employment of B is sufficiently puzzling, but the peculiar use of *beta* in certain Greek dialects throws some light upon it. In Müller's History of the Doric Race, vol. ii. p. 431, it is stated, that among the Dorians the digamma generally assumed the form of B, and a number of instances are there given from the Laconian, Cretan, Pamphylian and other dialects. In the Greek coins of the Emperors Severus and Verus, the sound of V is produced either by B or OY, the former name being written either ΣΕΟΥΗΡΟΣ or ΣΕΒΗΡΟΣ, showing that in some parts the sounds of B and OY were identical.

It seems, therefore, that B was used in Lycia to represent a letter, the force of which must have been nearly that of our W when used as a consonant, and of the Greek Ω or OY when as a vowel. Such a letter is found in several Asiatic languages.

In Persian the letter *Wau* is used both as consonant and vowel; in the former case it is a W, in the latter a broad or long U.

In Zend, according to Anquetil du Perron, the letter ⟩ is a short O, and its duplication ⟩⟩ is OU, or in some districts W. This explains exactly the uses of B in Lycian, both as a double O and as a W; in other words, that peculiar sound which we consider as a doubling of U is formed both in Zend and Lycian by doubling the O, which letter must have had in those languages a sound somewhat intervening between our O and U. M. Burnouf has corrected Anquetil on the subject of these two letters, alleging that if the double letter is equal to W, its half must be U; and thinking that ⟩⟩ is always used as a consonant, he employs V to represent it, and U to represent its half ⟩. The difficulty of deciding this matter is increased by the number of letters in Zend, as besides the two just mentioned, there are other forms for V, W, U long and O long and short. M. Burnouf's remarks on these letters will be found in the Introduction to his *Commentaire sur le Yaçna.* I am very fearful of going wrong when I quit the guidance of M. Burnouf, but in this instance I cannot help following the reading of the letters given by Anquetil, because it explains the use of the B in the Lycian inscriptions, and is itself confirmed thereby.

In the Pehlvi alphabet, according to Anquetil, who is here the only guide, one character serves for B, V, O and OU, which last he uses nearly as we use W. This may be seen in his Pehlvi alphabet in the third volume of the Zend-Avesta, and is also mentioned in his *Recherches sur les Anciennes Langues de la Perse*, published in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles Lettres*, vol. xxxi., 1768, p. 400, where, after mentioning that there are two characters for B, he adds "le Pehlvi forme peutêtre l'O, l'OU et le V de la deuxième figure B." This is very analogous to the manner in which B is used in Lycian.

In writing out the Lycian inscriptions in Roman characters, I have endeavoured as far as possible to use a different single

letter for each Lycian character, but I have found it impossible to do so with the letters now under consideration, since we have no letter which answers to the different uses of the B; the nearest to it is undoubtedly W, but this will not do in all instances; I have therefore rendered the B by W where it appears to be a consonant, and by OU where it is a vowel. I preferred the latter to Ō, as having more analogy to W.

Ⅰ performs the same double part of vowel and consonant as B, and appears to have the same force of W and O long. It is frequently interchanged with B; thus we find the town of TPBBWNEME, and the people TPⅠⅠAS; also S↑B↑ and S↑Ⅰ↑, etc. In both these cases the two letters seem identical, yet they are always distinguished in some words in the same inscriptions, for the word XⅠPW is invariably thus written, the second letter being never changed; this word is the first part of the Zend name of Ormuzd, it is written by Anquetil *Ehora*, by M. Burnouf *Ahura*, therefore in this word the letter Ⅰ seems to be an O or U lengthened by aspiration. It is usually a vowel, and very rarely a consonant. In copying out the inscriptions I have adopted the same letters to represent this as are employed for B, namely, W when a consonant and OU when a vowel.

+ is also both vowel and consonant, and closely allied to the two preceding, being interchanged with both; thus we have BOF↑ΔPE and +OF↑ΔPE, ↑ⅠBE and ↑+BE, etc., yet the letters are not identical; for we find many words in which two of them occur together, as on one of the coins, probably belonging to Τηλεφιος, we find T↑Λ↑B↑+E+↑, where B and + represent different consonants; many others, which will be seen by reference to the inscriptions. There are many words, particularly in the later inscriptions, where + might be rendered by H, as in the name just quoted, which, if written TÉLÉWÉHEHÉ, gives a word with a termination analogous to that of some of the genitives in Zend; yet H will not do to express the letter when it is a long vowel.

Thus, although feeling convinced that there are differences between the three letters B, + and 𝔗, I find them so nearly allied and so frequently interchanged, that I am quite at a loss to express a distinction between them in our letters, and I have written them all three in the same manner, W when they appear to be consonants, and OU when they are vowels.

I have not been able to reduce to any rule the differences between these three letters, because the manner in which they are respectively used varies in the different inscriptions, and also in different parts of the same monument. I thought at first that in the mixed population of Lycia these variations might depend upon the writing being the work of a Greek or of an Asiatic sculptor; for we can easily understand that a Greek could not reconcile himself to use B for a vowel while he had another character to use instead of it; to an Asiatic this would be a matter of indifference. But further examination has convinced me that there must have been an alteration going on in the pronunciation during the period over which the monuments extend, which caused a corresponding alteration in the use of the letters. This seems to have consisted in the gradual change in many words from W to H, sounds which have a great analogy to one another, especially if both are pronounced from the throat, as must have been the case in Lycia, where the same character represented an aspiration and the long vowel Ō or OU*. At one period there were only the characters B and 𝔗 to express this class of sounds, at another B and + represent two sounds, the former W, the latter perhaps H, while 𝔗 remains intermediate between them. I infer that the use of the single character is more ancient than its subdivision, from the general tendency of languages to become more complicated, and from the internal evidence afforded by the monuments and coins. Of the latter very few contain these letters; the coin

* A similar change from F to H took place in Spanish; *fidalgo* being turned into *hidalgo*.

referred to Τηλεφιος appears from its workmanship to be one of the most modern of those with Lycian characters, and the letters B and + occur as distinct consonants in a manner not found on any of the earlier coins; and the coins of TROOUNEME, on which B is always used as a vowel, are among the earliest from Lycia. The examination of the monuments leads to the same conclusion: on the north-east and north-west sides of the obelisk at Xanthus, B is either vowel or consonant indifferently, and † only occurs three times, while in most of the other inscriptions this is one of the letters of most common occurrence: on no other monuments are these peculiarities so strongly marked; consequently the inscriptions on these two sides of the obelisk, the date of which is about 500 B.C., must either be the most ancient or the most modern of the whole series; with such an alternative there can be no hesitation in considering them as the most ancient, as we should otherwise have to assign to the other monuments an antiquity which would be quite incredible. This change in the language was gradual, as there are inscriptions in which the letters B and + seem nearly identical, which must be considered as of an age intermediate between those where the B only occurs, and the others in which the difference between the two letters is strongly marked.

In Zend, besides the character already mentioned, there is another letter, which M. Burnouf considers a W, which is a very slight deviation in form from the H of that alphabet: probably these were originally the same letter, and the stroke distinguishing them added at a later period, which would be analogous to the change we find in Lycian: at any rate there seems nearly the same difficulty about the sounds W and H in Zend as there is in Lycian.

The letter + occurs in an Etruscan inscription mentioned by Lanzi, vol. i. p. 168, the sound of which he leaves in doubt: there is also an Etruscan letter of frequent use which seems a variation in form from B, and which is without doubt derived

from the same source as that letter: it is 8, showing a great analogy to a double O; it is considered by Lanzi to be equivalent to Ph, a letter which might have been used to express the sound of W, as the Latin F took the place of the digamma: the same character occurs on several undetermined coins attributed to Cilicia. The Greeks sometimes used Φ to express the Lycian B, as in the name of Τηλεφιος, mentioned above, page 447.

The vowel U has also two characters in Lycian, but the difference between them appears to be very slight, as they are frequently interchanged; yet as the Lycians had a long and a short sound to each of the other vowels, it seems natural to suppose the two characters for U to have the same difference between them.

Ψ, with the variations in the form of the letter seen in the Alphabet, I consider to be a long U.

Ψ, and the varieties of form of the short U given in the Alphabet, are evidently derived from the Greek upsilon; and in the Greek inscription published in your Journal of 1838, page 222, the upsilon is made in the same fashion, ⋎. Both these letters vary more than any others in the Lycian alphabet, and it is difficult to know to which some of the more fanciful forms apply; but there is no doubt that all of them are U, either long or short.

Consonants.

B has been already given among the semi-vowels; the Lycians appear not to have had the sound which we attach to this letter; their P answering in all probability the purpose of both our P and B.

Ψ, with the varieties seen in the Alphabet, answers to the Greek gamma, a G hard: the first is the character commonly used, from which the second and third are variations arising from mistakes; their value was first determined in the name of Arppagos, which occurs both in the Greek and the Lycian on the obelisk at Xanthus: the two last, which are mere variations of Γ, are used

in the inscriptions from Pinara, Plate XXX. No. 20 of this, and from Xanthus, page 225 of the former Journal, in words elsewhere written with Ψ. A letter nearly similar to the first is used for G on the Indo-Bactrian coins (see Prof. Lassen's Alphabet in the Proceedings of the Numismatic Society for 1838-39). The Etruscans also have a character very similar to Ψ, which is read Ch by Lanzi, vol. i. p. 167; it occurs as the second letter in the names of Achilles and Agamemnon, so that it must have had nearly the force of G attributed to the Lycian letter.

Δ, exactly the Greek delta, and doubtless of the same sound. It is a letter of less frequent occurrence in Lycian than might have been expected, its place being supplied by T in many words which are written with D in other Eastern languages.

Ξ; the Greek zeta is made in this form on some early monuments. On the bas-relief at Cadyanda, page 116, on which the names are written both in Greek and Lycian characters, the Lycian Ξ is expressed in Greek by Σ; it may be inferred from that circumstance, that the letter Ξ had a purely sibilant sound, and that the Lycian S was pronounced like Sh.

K corresponds both in form and use to the Greek kappa.

Λ is the exact equivalent of the Greek lambda. There is no L in the Zend alphabet, R being always used instead of it; in Pehlvi there are both L and R.

M, M, HH, answer to the Greek μυ: the second, which is found in early Greek inscriptions, is the commonest form of M in the Lycian monuments; the third occurs on a coin figured below, No. 28, which appears from its type to belong to some city of Lycia; it nearly resembles the usual Etruscan M.

N, N, N, N, different forms of N, none of which can be mistaken.

Γ, Γ, Γ, different forms of the Greek Π, all of which are found on Greek monuments. Occasionally Γ occurs in your copies of the inscriptions, but it appears, from a comparison of all the words in which it is found, that it is not a gamma, but a pi, which should have been copied Γ; the difference between

the two is so slight, that it is surprising that this error has not been made oftener. At the time when the letter pi was formed Γ, the character Γ could not have existed as a different letter, without leading to endless mistakes; this may account for our finding the G of a form so different from the usual Greek gamma.

P is exactly the Greek rho, both in form and use.

S, ʃ, ʃ, different forms of S. It has been mentioned above that the Lycian Ξ or Z appears to answer in sound to the Greek Σ: on the other hand, the Lycian word SA corresponds to the Persian *Shah*, so that the S must have been pronounced as *Sh*: but as this distinction cannot be traced in all the Lycian words in which the letters Ξ and S occur, it may be presumed that the two letters were very nearly allied to one another.

T cannot be mistaken.

F; although agreeing in form with the digamma, this letter does not appear to have had the sound of W, but rather that of our F, or perhaps of the German Pf; this pronunciation is determined by finding it as the initial letter of the town, which the Greeks called Πεδασσα: it answers to the Persian *Fa*.

X resembles in form the Greek chi: it is of very rare occurrence, only appearing on the coins of two cities, and in the inscriptions on the south-east and south-west sides of the Obelisk at Xanthus. In some words this letter seems to be equivalent to K, which added to its form may justify us in considering it to be Ch.

The comparison of the Lycian with the Greek letters shows that the forms of all the Lycian consonants, except perhaps of G, and of five of the vowels, were derived from the Greek, and that the Lycians added to these five vowels to make up a double set of long and short vowels; and although two of these additional vowels nearly correspond in force to H and Ω, they do not resemble them in form, therefore the Lycians must have copied the Greek alphabet before it contained the long vowels H and Ω, or the consonants Θ, Ξ, Φ, Ψ, which have no Lycian representatives.

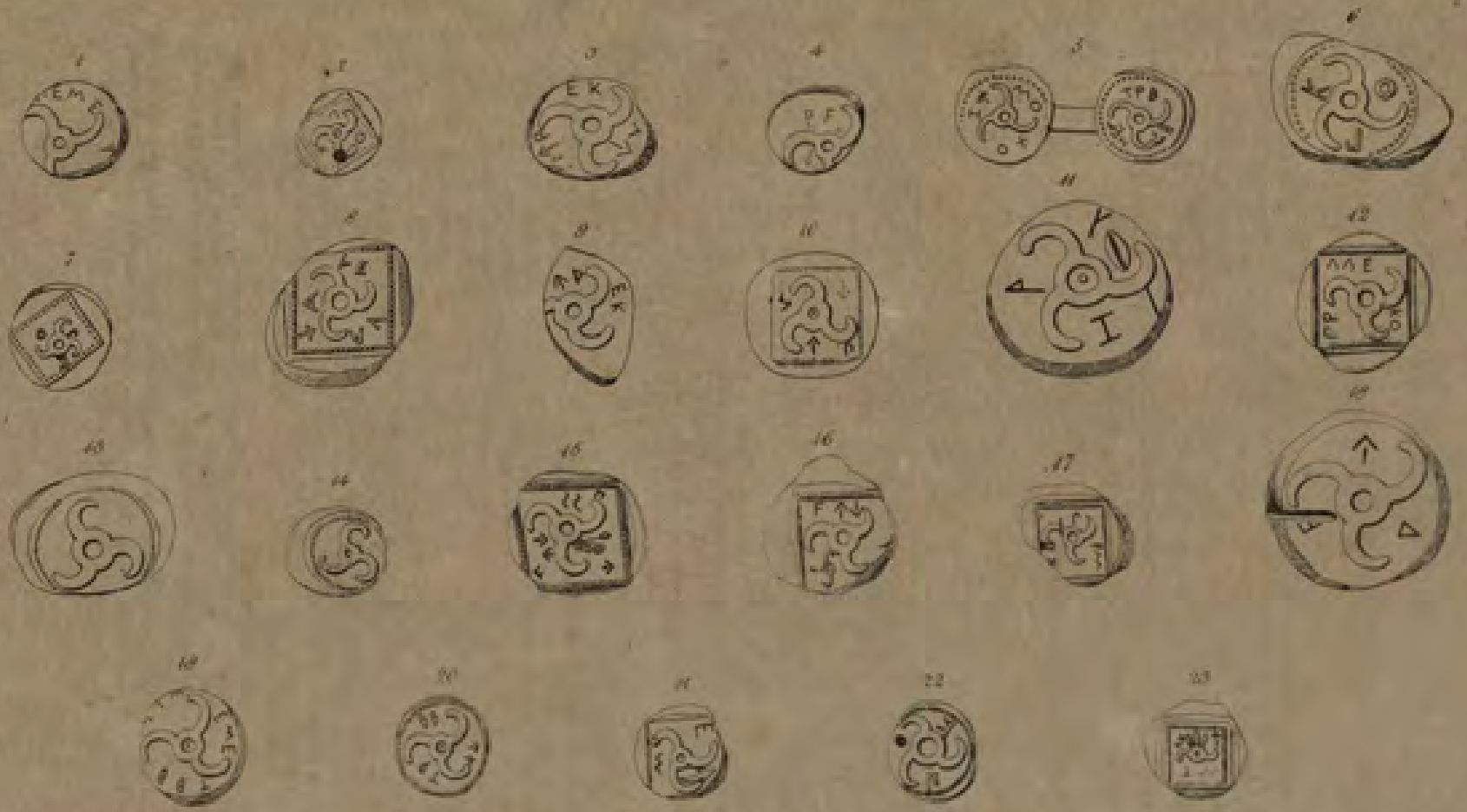
There is great difficulty in comparing the Lycian letters with those of the Persian and Indian languages, as their origin is entirely different, yet it is impossible to proceed without examining their relations to the Zend alphabet, as that is the language nearest to it. This alphabet has been fully analysed by M. Burnouf in the Introduction to his *Commentaire sur le Yaçna*; it contains thirteen vowels and thirty consonants: in Sanscrit the number is still greater; against these Lycian has only twenty-five letters in all. It is obvious that this difference must cause great difficulty in studying Lycian by the help of those languages, as each letter may answer to several letters in Zend or Sanscrit, and it is quite impossible to guess, *à priori*, how the analogue of a Lycian word will be spelled. It is probable also that an alphabet of Semitic origin, and of such limited extent, must have been an imperfect organ of expressing a language related to Zend, so that many peculiarities of the language must be lost in it, and the principles of orthography in the language may be altered in consequence. It will be impossible to resolve these doubts until the language is thoroughly understood; in the mean time I dwell particularly upon them, because in this difference between the Lycian alphabet and the alphabets of the languages to which it is most nearly related, will be found the principal obstacle to the study of Lycian.

The difference between the vowels in Lycian and Zend is not of much importance. The Zend has a nasal Ã which is not found in Lycian, and a diphthong AO, which is probably included in the Lycian letter ✚. Between the consonants of the two languages the difference is very great: the Zend alphabet has the aspirates Kh, Gh, Th, Dh, Tch, Ch, which are wanting in Lycian, where the corresponding unaspirated letters answered apparently to the aspirated and unaspirated letters in Zend: thus ÎTATA in Lycian is derived from a verb answering to the Greek τιθημι, and to the Zend DADHAMI. The nasals G̃, Ñg, and Ñ are wanting in Lycian; as also Dj, J, and Q; all

of which occur in Zend. L is the only Lycian letter not used in Zend, where its place is filled by R.

The following Table represents the Lycian letters with all their variations of form; against each are placed the Greek and Zend letters supposed to be related to it, for the purpose of making the preceding explanations intelligible at one view. It must be borne in mind that many of the comparisons therein established cannot be relied upon, as the relation of many of the letters are still to be ascertained.

Before quitting the alphabet, it is worth considering which letters are most in danger of being confounded together in copying the Lycian inscriptions: I have placed together, at the foot of the alphabet, the letters which are the most likely to be copied one for another; and it is by these resemblances that I have been guided in the corrections required to be made in your copies of the inscriptions.



John Murray London 1841

C. Hullmandel's Lithog.

Coins with Lycian Characters

LIST OF ANCIENT LYCIAN COINS

IN PLATE XXXVIII. AND FOLLOWING WOODCUTS.

No.	In the possession of	Cities to which they belong.	Obverse of Coins.
1	C. Fellows	Troouneme (Tros or Tlos)	Skin of lion's head.
2	Ditto	Kopalle	Lion passing with head turned back.
3	Ditto	Ereclé (Heraclea)	Skin of lion's head.
4	Ditto	Ditto Ditto (copper)	Head of Pan, with wreath and horns.
5	Hunterian Collection	Troouneme (Tros or Tlos)	See Plate.
6	Ditto	Kopalle	The forequarters of two bulls joined, the heads looking different ways; over them the triquetra.
7	Ditto	Ditto	Bull with human face, with hump upon his back.
8	Ditto	Gaéaga (Gagæ)	Sphinx, standing.
9	Ditto	Ereclé (Heraclea)	Skin of lion's head.
10	British Museum	Méré (Myra)	Forequarters of a bull.
11	Ditto		Skin of lion's head.
12	Ditto	Kopalle	Horse biting his hind leg.
13	Ditto		Pegasus.
14	Ditto		Ditto.
15	Ditto	Fégssérdeme (Pegasa or Pedasa)	Naked man running.
16	Ditto	Ditto Ditto	Three quarters of Pegasus.
17	Ditto	Kopalle	Lion upon the back of a bull.
18	Ditto	Fégssérdeme (Pedasa or Pegasa)	Skin of lion's head.
19	Ditto	Troouneme (Tros or Tlos)	Ditto.
20	Ditto	Ditto Ditto	Ditto.
21	Ditto		Ditto.
22	Ditto	Kopalle	The forequarters of two bulls joined, the heads looking different ways; over them the triquetra.
23	Ditto	Illegible	Three quarters of Pegasus.
24	Bank of England	Kopalle ?	Two dolphins.
*25	Bibliothèque Royale, Paris	Ditto	A griffin.
26	Bank of England	Pttarazu (Patara)	Human head.
27	Ditto	Telewehehe (Telephios?)	Head of Minerva.
†28	Vienna		Pegasus.
29	Bank of England		A griffin sitting with letter as on reverse.
30	Ditto		A sphinx with horns.
31	Paris	Pereclé ?	Head of lion.

[* By the kindness of M. Lenorman, I have been furnished with copies of all the ancient Lycian Coins in the Paris Collection, four of which are in the Bibliothèque, and three in the Cabinet of M. le duc de Luynes: three not here drawn are of Kopalle, having for their obverses a Pegasus, a goat, and the head of Jupiter Ammon; and two of Ereclé, one with the head of a lion, and the other described as a human head crowned and radiated, the coin copper; probably this may be similar to No. 4. The nails represented in the triquetra in No. 25 are remarkable, and may assist conjecture as to the symbol which is seen in No. 30, with four arms.—C. F.]

[† From Vienna I have received, in the most liberal manner, from M. Arneth casts of all the uncertain coins in the Imperial Cabinet. Two only are of ancient Lycia; the one not represented is so imperfect that the inscription is illegible, the reverse appears to be the half of a Pegasus.—C. F.]

ON THE COINS OF LYCIA.

THE only coins hitherto attributed to Lycia, are a well-marked series with Greek legends, bearing the initial letters of the city at which each was struck, and the word Λυκιων; these are common in good collections, and a copious list of them will be found in Mionnet. I have stated above, page 440, my reasons for thinking that they were struck during the existence of the Lycian league, and have nothing to add respecting them, as they are too well known to require illustration. Besides these there exist a variety of coins with legends in Lycian characters, which have hitherto been classed for the most part as uncertain coins of Cilicia; the following remarks will be devoted to their examination, which requires some inquiry into the ancient geography of the country.

XANTHUS.—This having been the capital of the country might be expected to furnish the greatest number of coins, but that is far from the case, and great obscurity hangs over the few which are attributed to this town. The name of *Xanthus* applies both to the city and the river on which it stands, which was anciently called *Sirbe*. Stephanus Byzantinus tells us that *Arna* was the ancient name of the town of Xanthus, and though this is not confirmed by any other author, there is no reason to doubt his assertion, for it is obvious that *Xanthus*, being a Greek translation of *Sirbe*, must have been first applied to the river, and cannot have been the original name of the town. Homer speaks of the river Xanthus frequently, but does not name the town, which is first mentioned by Herodotus. We could hardly expect to find the name of Xanthus in the Lycian inscrip-

tions, which would of course call that town by its Asiatic name; neither does the exact word *Arna* occur in them, but on the obelisk at Xanthus ΑΡΞΝΑ, or *Arna* occurs, once in the Greek, and several times in the Lycian parts of the inscription. The difference between this and the name as given by Stephanus, consists merely in the insertion of a short vowel between the two consonants, which rendered the word more easy of pronunciation to the Lycians, whose language abounds in vowels, but which would easily be dropped by the Greeks. If this word had only been found in the inscriptions, it might be doubted whether it was the name of a town, but this is proved by a coin figured by Pellerin, vol. ii. Plate LXXXV. Fig. 28. with the name ΑΡΞΝΑ, and another name in Lycian characters, which is not quite legible. Pellerin, reading the third letter X, referred the coin to Araxa in Armenia; but Mionnet has placed it among the Cilicinn coins, on account of its general character and its legend: it is his No. 681, vol. iii. p. 668. On the front is a head of Pallas, and on the reverse the legend, and a sitting figure of Pallas armed with spear and shield, etc. I feel no hesitation in referring this coin to the city of Xanthus under its ancient name of Arina or Arna. Having only seen the engraving of the coin, it is impossible to give a decided opinion as to its date; but from its appearance, and its not having the triquetra, which occurs on all the earliest Lycian coins, I am inclined to think it of the second period, and not much earlier than the time of Alexander. It would be inconsistent with this opinion to find any coins of so early a date with the Greek name of Xanthus.

In the catalogue of Græco-Lycian coins, in the third volume of Mionnet, there are two attributed to Xanthus, No. 78, with the legend ΖΑ ΛΥΚΙΩΝ, and No. 79, with ΔΗΜΟ ΣΑΝ; it will be observed that in both these the name is written with Z instead of X. Among the Lycian coins figured in Plate XXXVII., No. 11 appears to be of the same town as the two just referred to; disregarding a stroke, which may be attributed to an accidental defect, the most probable reading of the legend is

ΙΑΝ, or *Zan*; but the third letter is not certain, as it is partially lost at the edge of the die. This coin is in the collection of the British Museum; it is one of the earliest of the Lycian coins known, and must be more ancient than the Persian conquest of Lycia; it bears the usual triquetra, accompanied by a grain of barley, and on the reverse a lion's head. As there is every reason to suppose that when it was struck there was no town yet called Xanthus, I cannot refer it to that city, although I can find no other in Lycia which will suit it; it must therefore remain for the present unlocated, in company with the two Græco-Lycian coins, Nos. 78 and 79 of Mionnet, which cannot be separated from this. We have not the names of all the seventy towns of Lycia alluded to by Pliny, and it is probable that many which have come down under a Greek name in the ancient geographers, may have been formerly known by another name now lost; so that we need not be surprised at meeting with coins which we cannot refer to any known town.

Tlos.—I propose to refer to this city the coins Nos. 1, 5, 19 and 20, of Plate XXXVII., bearing the legend TPBBWNEME, either at length or abbreviated. In Greek characters this word would be Τρωωνεμε. As EME occurs as the termination of another Lycian town, it may perhaps be a contraction for some word signifying *town*; the rest has so much the form of a genitive plural, that we may translate the whole name conjecturally, *Town of the Troes*. On the obelisk at Xanthus this name occurs twice, and also several other words, which are either the names of the people to whom the town belonged, or derivatives relating to them; these in Greek characters would be Τρωωδε, Τρωωε, Τρωωας, Τρωωισα, Τρωωιτε, Τρωωιτα, and Τρωωιτυ. Stephanus states the derivatives from Τλως to be Τλωσιν, Τλωιτης, Τλωος, and Τλωιος: allowing for the common change between L and R, which is found in most languages, and the greater lengthening of the first vowel in the Lycian names, the two lists have a strong resemblance, and leave no doubt of the identity of the town.

The coins of TROOUNEME are not uncommon; among the uncertain Cilician coins in Mionnet, Supp. vol. vii. No. 591. belongs to it. All have a triquetra, and are of very early date; their usual reverse is a lion's head. No. 5 has a triquetra on each side, and the name ZYMOAO on the reverse, which is perhaps the name of a magistrate.

MYRA.—The legend on No. 10. Plate XXXVII. is M↑P↑ or *Mērē*; the M is partially defaced on the coin, but may still be read: the same name occurs on the Obelisk at Xanthus.

Mionnet, Supp. vol. vii., gives a coin of the same town, No. 592 of his uncertain Cilician coins: it has a triquetra and the letters M↑PE . . . with a head of Pan on the reverse.

GAGÆ.—The legend on No. 8. Plate XXXVII. is not very clear, but may perhaps be read ΨA↑EΨA, or *Gaēga*, which is probably the *Gagæ* of the Greeks: the reverse is a sphinx.

On the obelisk at Xanthus is the name of *Gōaega*, which differs slightly, but probably refers to the same town.

HERACLEA.—The coin No. 3. Plate XXXVII. bears the name of ↑PEKA↑, *ĕreclē* or *hĕreclē*, if the vowel was aspirated when at the beginning of a word. No. 9 belongs to the same town: its legend is ↑PEK. The same name occurs on the obelisk at Xanthus. No town of this name in Lycia is mentioned by the ancient geographers, but there is Heraclea in Caria, to which place this coin probably belongs.

PEDASA or PEGASA, a city of Caria. We have the authority of Stephanus Byzantinus for the variation in spelling the name with D or G. Among the coins with Lycian characters, are several which I propose to refer to this town with some hesitation: they are No. 15. Plate XXXVII., with the legend F↑ΨSS↑PΔ, *Fēgsĕrd* (the last letter is very doubtful); No. 16 with *Fēg*, and a Pegasus on the reverse; and No. 18 with *Fĕd*.

The Lycian name of the town to which these apply, was probably *Fagsserdeme*, that name being found on the obelisk at Xanthus. Changing the initial letters, which are nearly related to one another, F and P, and dropping the terminations in each case, there is a great resemblance between the names; and their identity is rendered more probable by the Pegasus on one of the coins, and by the name in each language being written with either D or G. One of the horses of Achilles mentioned in Homer is named Pedasus; it seems therefore that both Pedasus and Pegasus must have been derived from a word signifying *horse* in Lycian, or in one of the languages of Asia Minor. If the names Pegasa and Fegsserdeme are rightly identified, they must be of Asiatic origin; for the Lycians would not change P into F in adopting a Greek name, although the Greeks could not avoid the converse change in naturalizing a Lycian name beginning with F. By attending to the nature of a change of this kind, the language to which a word originally belonged can generally be detected.

Caballia, according to Pliny and Ptolemy, or Caballis, according to Strabo, was an inland district of Lycia, containing the three cities Oenoanda, Balbura, and Bubon. Strabo, Book XIII. p. 629 and 631, enters into some details respecting the inhabitants, who were said to be Solymi.

The most common of the Lycian coins appear to belong to this district; No. 12. Plate XXXVII. has the name ΚΟΡΑΛΛΕ, *Kopalle*, which is also found on the obelisk at Xanthus; on the rest the name is abbreviated; No. 17 having *Kopall*, and Nos. 2, 6, 7, and 22, only *Kop*.

Mionnet, Supplement, vol. vii., has published a coin of the same district, with the legend *Kop*, which he has classed among the uncertain coins of Cilicia as No. 589. The identity of the names is not complete, but there is no other name in Lycia nor the surrounding countries to which these coins can be referred.

No. 24.

This coin probably belongs to the same district; it is of very ancient date, with the legend ⊓ΑΧ, which must be read *Chap* or *Kap*. The change of the vowel from O to A brings the name nearer to the Greek form *Cabalia*, and there are other proofs that the Lycian letters Χ and Κ were nearly identical. The reverse has two fish, which seems an extraordinary bearing for an inland district, and increases the doubt on the subject.

No. 25.

This coin admits of no such doubt, as its legend is certainly *Kopalle*.

No. 26.

PATARA.—ΠΤΤΑΡΑΙΨ, *Pttarazu*: it is impossible to pronounce this word without inserting a vowel, which brings the beginning of the name to an identity with the Greek *Patara*. In the lists of towns in Lycia, Caria, and the neighbouring

countries given by the Greek geographers, a large proportion end in *assos* or *essos*, such as *Halicarnassus*, *Edebessus*, &c. The *azu* on this coin shows the manner in which the Lycians expressed this termination, which the Greeks have dropped in Patara: the Lycian Z is here equivalent to SS in Greek. No. 26 is one of the latest coins with Lycian characters, probably struck shortly before the invasion of Asia by Alexander; it has no triquetra, but a head of Mercury on one side, and the head of a hero or demigod on the reverse.

No. 27.

Telephios is mentioned by Stephanus Byzantinus as δημος Λυκιας, a tribe or people of Lycia. The legend is T↑Λ↑-B↑✚E✚↑, which is either *Telewewewe*, or, considering the ✚ to be here equivalent to H, *Telewehehe*. In either case the word is the genitive plural of a noun commencing with *Telewe*; a name only differing from *Telephios* in the termination and the use of φ to express the sound of the Lycian B. The only difficulty connected with this identification is in the term δημος, which does not apply to a town.

Lycian coins of unknown towns.—The few coins which still remain to be mentioned, must remain unarranged until it is ascertained to what towns they belong.

No. 4. Plate XXXVII.—The only letters remaining are ↑BF, which do not occur together on any of the coins yet mentioned, and are not enough to show the name of the town. Perhaps they should be read ↑PE, *ēre*, the beginning of Heraclea.

Nos. 13 and 14. Plate XXXVII. have no legend, but as both have Pegasus on the reverse, they may belong to Pedasa.

No. 21. Plate XXXVII. has the letters ME, which afford little information.

No. 23. Plate XXXVII. is so much worn that the legend cannot be made out.

No. 28.

This coin has the letters MA or AM, and a stroke, which may have been an instrument similar to that on No. 21. The form of the M on this coin is very peculiar, and has a great resemblance to the Etruscan M. The Græco-Lycian coins with the letters MA are usually referred to the town of Massicytus.

No. 29.

I can attempt no explanation of the character on this coin, which is repeated on the reverse at the top of the head of a griffin. The triquetra shows that the coin was Lycian; but there is no such character in any of the inscriptions, so that it is uncertain whether it should be considered as a monogram or as some religious emblem.

No. 30.

This is peculiar in having a four-armed instrument instead of the usual Lycian triquetra. If the coin is perfect, the most probable manner of reading the legend is F↑XXEB↑; but there may have been another letter after the F, as that corner of the die is incomplete. The reverse has a griffin.

In Sestini's Letters, vol. vi. tab. 13, no. 1, a coin is figured which must have belonged to the same town: it has a four-armed triquetra, and on the reverse part of a boar. It is referred by Sestini to the town of Aspendus in Pamphylia, which is a place of refuge for many stray coins. In the text the legend is given BE T↑XXE↑E, but the engraver has represented it in the Plate in a different manner, BE↑XXE✱↑E; at the stop where the asterisk is placed is a character which is not intelligible. There are so many letters the same on the two coins, that there can be little doubt of their relationship. The letter X is of very rare occurrence in the Lycian inscriptions; it only appears on the south-west and south-east sides of the obelisk at Xanthus, and its place must be occupied by K in the other inscriptions; but I observe that X is frequently and K never doubled. The only words on the obelisk which have any resemblance to the legend on the two coins are T↑XXE and A↑XXFE, and a word which is partially lost in the imperfection of the stone at the end of the 59th and beginning of the 60th lines on the south-east, T..... XEF↑EBE; if we insert the letters ↑X in the gap, we obtain T↑XXEF↑EBE, which corresponds with Sestini's coin if we retain the T given in his text, and read F for the character left doubtful by his engraver. To bring the coin No. 30 to the same name, we must

insert T at the part which is imperfect, and read TΛXXEBΛF, which can only be reconciled with the above on the supposition that B and F are convertible letters, for which there is no other evidence.

No. 31.

The legend upon this coin appears to be ΓΛΡΕΚΛΛ or *Pĕreklĕ*, but I cannot find any town of that name mentioned in the ancient geographers: not having seen the coin itself, nor a cast from it, I suspect that the drawing from which this cut is taken may be inaccurate. If the first letter were omitted the name would be Erecle, or Heraclea, the same as Nos. 3 and 9.

Tremilæ and Troes.—In the Greek part of the inscription on the obelisk at Xanthus, Lycia is mentioned several times; but that name does not occur in the other part of that inscription, nor in any of the inscriptions in the Lycian language. Herodotus (l. i. c. 73) states that the inhabitants of Lycia were called at different periods Milyans, Solymi and Termilæ, which last name they had at the time they were governed by Sarpedon, and by which their neighbours still called them. So that in the time of Herodotus, the people whom the Greeks called Lycians, were called Termilæ by the neighbouring Asiatics. Stephanus Byzantinus gives Tremilĕ as the ancient name of Lycia. The word TPXMELΛ, *Trāmelē*, occurs repeatedly on the obelisk at Xanthus, in which we cannot mistake the *Tremilæ* of Stephanus; and in connexion with it on the obelisk, and on the tomb No. 18, the Troûoûes or Trōōes are mentioned in a manner which shows them to have been not merely inha-

bitants of the town of Tlos, but the people of a separate nation or district, in which character we do not find them mentioned by the ancient geographers.

There is a passage in Homer which has given infinite trouble to all the commentators, ancient and modern, and especially to the Greek geographers, which is connected with the present subject, and may be partially explained by the facts now brought to light for the first time. In the enumeration of the Trojan army (Iliad ii. l. 824 to 827), Pandarus, the son of Lycaon, leads the Troes who inhabit Zeleia at the foot of Mount Ida and drink the waters of the Aisepus. In the fifth book, where his contest with Diomede is related, Pandarus is represented as coming from Lycia; and the name of his father, his worship of Apollo *Lycegenes*, and his skill in the bow, all mark him as a Lycian.

Strabo, whose veneration for Homer knew no bounds, is quite staggered by the apparent contradiction of these passages, and he expresses his surprise more than once (b. xiii. p. 845 and 846, and b. xiv. p. 950), that Homer should call the same troops both Troes and Lycians, and should place Lycia, the kingdom of Pandarus, north of Troy. Strabo refers for the position of Zeleia, the Aisepus and surrounding country, to Demetrius, a native of those parts, who wrote thirty books upon the sixty lines of Homer which enumerate the Trojans, and after remarking at some length upon the difficulty of explaining it, leaves the subject in doubt. The later Greek writers were less cautious. Stephanus Byzantinus distinguishes two Lycias; one named after Lycus, the son of Pandion, the other near Cilicia, which Sarpedon governed. The Scholiast explains the matter in a different manner (Il. iv. line 103, and v. line 105); with him Lycia is both a name for the town of Zeleia, and also the country usually so called. Eustathius, commenting upon the same passages, makes out two countries of the same name; the Lesser Lycia, also called the Lesser Troy, the country of Pandarus, and the Greater Lycia, the kingdom of Sarpe-

don. Throughout all these authors the constant mention of Pandarus and Sarpedon points out the source of the confusion.

The Latin authors derived their geography from observation, and not from the study of Homer: neither in Pliny nor Pomponius Mela is there any mention of the second kingdom or town of Lycia.

We are now able to explain the origin of these errors. The country included by the Greeks under the general name of Lycia contained two nations, the Tremilae and the Troes; both sent troops to the assistance of Troy, the former under Sarpedon and Glaucus, the latter under Pandarus, the son of Lycaon. The name of Troes, applied both to the people of Troouneme or Tlos and of Troy, led to the confusion; and either Homer himself, or the compilers of the Iliad in its present form, fell into the error of bringing the troops of Pandarus from Zelcia, at the foot of Mount Ida, a town whose position was well known to all the ancient geographers. The author of the Iliad has entered so fully into the mythology of Lycia, that we can hardly suppose him unacquainted with that country, and the mistake was probably made when the detached poems were put together at a later period; it is at least certain that it has not arisen from the transcribers of the poems since the time of Strabo, as all his remarks show that his version of these passages of Homer was the same as ours.

There are two rivers of the name of Xanthus mentioned in the Iliad; the one flowing through Lycia, to which the name is very applicable, the other through the Troad, where there is no stream to which that name can properly be applied. Perhaps the latter may have owed its existence to the same confusion between Lycia and the Troad, and the line

Ὃν Ξανθον καλεουσι θεοι, ανδρες δε Σκαμανδρον,

may have been added at a later period, when it was observed that two rivers were mentioned in the poem in a district where only one was found to exist.

LYCIAN INSCRIPTIONS*.

To enable your readers to judge of the Lycian language without the trouble of learning a new alphabet, I have copied out all the inscriptions in Roman characters, and have taken the opportunity to correct all the errors in your copies of them which I can detect, and in some instances to fill up small blanks. In altering words to make the orthography consistent, I have always been guided by the resemblances between the letters already pointed out; but that the alterations and

[* Reference to Inscriptions on Plate XXXVI.

At Limyra.

No. 1. On an Elizabethan rock-tomb, the Phœnician characters coloured blue and the Greek red.

No. 2. On a rock-tomb, under bas-reliefs, the letters coloured alternately blue and red.

No. 3. On the side of the door of a handsome built tomb, with portico.

No. 4. A rock-tomb, the letters alternately green and red.

No. 5. Over a tomb, the Greek characters over one of the panneels.

Nos. 7, 8, and 20. On rock-tombs.

At Telmessus.

Nos. 6, 9, and 12. On rock-tombs.

At Pinara.

Nos. 10, 17, and 21. On rock-tombs.

No. 11. A sarcophagus-tomb.

At Myra.

No. 13. A rock-tomb, letters coloured blue and red.

Nos. 15, 18, 19, and 22. On rock-tombs.

At Xanthus.

No. 14. On a rock-tomb.

No. 16. On a slab.

At Antiphellus.

No. 23. Upon a handsome sarcophagus: there have been eight lines, but they are now so imperfect, that I have only attempted to copy the first two, and have selected a few perfect words from the others.—C. F.]

INSCRIPTIONS IN LYCIA

additions may be readily seen, they are printed in italics. I have also endeavoured to separate all the words, the points which originally marked them out having been frequently omitted; here also care has been taken to distinguish between that which is found in the originals and that which has been added, the points being placed only where they occur in your copies of the inscriptions, and the divisions made by me being marked by the separation into words, without stops between them. Still there are a few alterations which could not be easily shown in the printing, as when a stop which appears to be erroneous is omitted, and when a stop is substituted for a letter; these cases are of rare occurrence, and the latter only takes place where the letter I appears to have been copied instead of the stops, which if the stone is a little chipped might easily be mistaken for that letter. These alterations are of little importance, as the engravings of the inscriptions being at hand, every one who wishes to study the language will naturally recur to them, and not rely upon my transcripts.

The inscriptions are placed in the order in which they can be most easily studied, beginning with the bilingual inscription from Limyra, which is followed by the other funereal inscriptions, the shorter and simpler preceding those of which the construction is more complicated. The decrees on the obelisk at Xanthus are left for the last. In this manner the simple sentences lead on to the understanding of those which are more difficult, and much repetition in the explanations is avoided.

A literal translation is placed under the line wherever this can be done. It will thus be seen at a glance how much is still wanting.

Inscription No. 3. Plate XXXVI.

ĒWĒEYA :	ĒRAFAZEYA :	MĒTE :	PRINAFATU :	SEDĒREYA :
Το	μνημα	τοδε	εποιησατο	σιδαριος
This	tomb		made	Sidarios

PĒ . . . . NĒ : TEDĒEME : *OU*RPPE ĒTLE ĒOUWE LADE :

παννιος	υἱος		ἑαυτοι		και τη γυναικι
Painnis's	son	for	self	his,	wife

ĒO*U*WE SĒ TEDĒEME ĒO*U*WE . . . . LĒYĒ

	και	υἱοι		πυβιαλη
his,	and	son	his	Pubiale.

Every one who attempted to study the Lycian inscriptions naturally began with this, as it is the only one which is accompanied by a translation, and is thus the foundation of all our knowledge of the language. The translations made by M. Saint Martin and Dr. Grotefend have been already referred to; they were made from the copy taken by Mr. Cockerell, which is very imperfect; your copy is far from complete, but the comparison of the two brings us nearer to the truth; and some of the other inscriptions on Plate XXXVI. run so nearly in the same words, that there is no difficulty in reducing this to a form very nearly correct: in the version given above both copies have been made use of, and some words have been corrected from the other inscriptions.

The Greek has been published in a corrected form by M. Letronne in the *Journal des Savans* for February 1821, by M. Saint Martin, and by Dr. Grotefend; the differences between their readings are not great; the only alteration of importance now made from your copy is the substitution of υἱοι for υἱδι in the last line: this change relieves us from a Greek word of very rare occurrence, and gives a more definite meaning to *tēdēeme*, which in the singular always appears to mean *son*, although in the plural, which we shall soon meet with, it probably has the more general signification of *children*. Even with the assistance of both copies the names of the father and son of Sidarios remain unintelligible.

The Lycian words are so completely altered in their spelling by the additional materials now brought home, that it is unne-

cessary to criticise the explanations attempted of them in their former incorrect forms, so that I will proceed at once to explain the manner in which the translation placed below each word has been arrived at: *ēoūwe* occurring three times, first as part of the phrase corresponding to *ἑαυτω*, and then after the words *wife* and *son*, can only be the pronoun *his*, or an article. In the longer inscriptions this word does not occur so often as an article must do if there were one in the language; excepting on the tombs, where the possessive pronoun is constantly to be expected, it is rarely found. It must therefore be the possessive pronoun *his*, a meaning which will be found suitable to every situation in which *ēoūwe* occurs, and which shall presently be justified etymologically. As soon as the near relationship of the letters +, Ⅎ, and B was observed, I saw that *ēwēeya*, of which we find the neuter form *ēwuinu* on the other tombs, must belong to the same family; its form, coupled with its being translated *το* in the Greek, marked it for the demonstrative pronoun *this*. M. Saint Martin conjectured that the first three words should be translated *ce tombeau-ci*; but having only the last letters of the first word, he could not connect it with the corresponding word in the other inscriptions, which he translated *tomb*. Dr. Grotefend's explanation came much nearer the truth, as he saw that the second word in each inscription was the noun *tomb*, and he translated *iejoe* (as he read the first word here) *hoc*; but he took the corresponding word in the other inscriptions, which he read *ibyeny*, for an adjective, *sepulchral*.

The declension of the Zend pronouns has not yet been thoroughly made out; there are some remarks upon them scattered through M. Burnouf's *Commentaire sur le Yaçna*, but they are not sufficient for the present purpose, and we are driven to recur to Anquetil's vocabulary, in which many of the pronouns are scattered about without reference to either number, case, or gender. The following words have been picked out of his lists, and arranged in a manner which renders them intelligible:—

Relative, *who*: Nominative, Ié, Iá, Iô; Genitive and Dative, Iôe and Heoûé.

Interrogative, *who*: Nominative, Kéié, Kô; Genitive and Dative, Keoûe.

Demonstrative, *lui*: Nominative singular, Eeté;
eux: Nominative plural, Eétéé.

It may be deduced from the above, that in the singular the three genders of the nominative end in *é, a, o*; that in the genitive and dative these are changed to *ôé*, or *oûe*; and that in the plural the vowels are lengthened.

In accordance with this principle we shall find that the Lycian pronoun *he* may be declined

Nominative singular ẽ, *he*; Genitive and Dative, ẽwe or ẽoûe, *him*;

which resembles the declension of the pronouns in many of the Indo-Germanic languages, as *se, sui*; *me, moi*; *le, lui*, &c. From the oblique case *ẽwe* or *ẽoûe*, the possessive *ẽoûwe, his*, is formed in a manner similar to *suus* from *sui*, by doubling the *u*; and from the same word is derived the demonstrative pronoun, of which the feminine *ẽwẽeya* begins the inscription before us, and the neuter *ẽwuinu* is found in several others: the masculine of this word does not occur, it was probably *ẽwẽiye* or *ẽwẽyẽ*, agreeing in form with Anquetil's pronouns *ié, kéié, enié*. It seems probable that the Lycian words beginning with the long vowel ↑ were all aspirated in pronunciation; the addition of an aspirate would make the Lycian pronouns equivalent to he, him, and his, *he, hewe*, or *heoûe* and *heoûwe*. In the pronouns I can never distinguish between the genitive and dative cases; and I am not sure that they can be distinguished in the Lycian nouns and adjectives, although there are some words in which it is possible that they may be different. There is a curious peculiarity in the change from the feminine *ẽwẽeya* to *ẽwuinu* in the neuter: as we go on we shall find many instances of the declension affecting the vowels of the penult and antepenult syl-

lables, as in this case; but I cannot account for the insertion of the *n* in the last syllable.

In the preceding remarks on the pronouns which occur in this inscription, several words have been mentioned which we have not yet come to; but this anticipation has brought into one view the pronouns which are connected with one another, and will save the necessity of much repetition. I was anxious also to bring forward these pronouns at the commencement of the inquiry, as their great resemblance to the corresponding words in the European languages is a strong evidence of the family to which the Lycian language belongs; this we shall soon find strengthened by the forms of conjugation of the verbs.

The first two words are in the accusative feminine singular; they exhibit a peculiarity which we shall find running through the whole language, in wanting the terminal consonant which is found in so many languages of the same family; Sanscrit, Zend, Greek, and Latin add *n*, *m*, or *s* to the accusative, but that case ends in a vowel in Lycian, both in the singular and the plural; yet its affinity to them is shown in the change of the terminal vowels, which vary in declension in a manner closely analogous to the last vowels in these languages, from which we also see that the Lycians do not add a vowel, but drop a consonant from the end of each word, as compared with its analogous word in another language. On the same principle the owner of this tomb is named in Greek Σιδάριος, and in Lycian Sedēreya: he was in all probability a Greek, and the final *s* was dropped in the Lycian pronunciation of his name. It will be seen as we advance, that every name on the Lycian tombs ends in a vowel.

The second word is translated μνημα: in your copy the sixth letter is wanting; Mr. Cockerell has given it as Ξ, which seeming to bring too many vowels together, I have replaced it by Ι, a letter closely resembling the former: for a similar reason I have preferred his copy of the beginning of the word to yours, *ōra* being preferable to *ōarf*: the word thus corrected occurs again on the tomb of Payara.

The third word *mēte* is declinable: at the corresponding place in the sentence on other tombs we find *mute*, *muti*, *munē*, and *muna*; of these, *muti* and *muna* only occur once, and are perhaps incorrectly copied instead of *mute* and *munē*, so that they need not be taken into consideration. M. Saint Martin conjectured that *mēte* "répondrait à τοδε, ou serait un adverbe qui signifierait *ici*." The first explanation seems correct, as the suffix *te* appears identical with the Greek δε, the declension only affecting the first syllable; and *te* will be found added in a similar manner in other inscriptions to many other words. M. Burnouf (*Commentaire*, p. 139) supposes *man* in Zend to be a declinable demonstrative particle, which is not required in our language: this is exactly the use of τοδε, and explains the words under consideration; the only difficulty connected with them is, that they are used indiscriminately with words in the neuter and feminine.

The next word begins in some inscriptions with *a*, but *p* is the most common spelling, and is doubtless correct, making *prinafatu*: its meaning is given very clearly in the Greek εποιησατο: it will be necessary to speak of this verb at some length when we come to its participle, so it may be passed over at present.

The sixth word is the name of the parent of Sidarios, which cannot be restored with any certainty; it is obviously in the genitive case, but its termination differs from that of every name which occurs in the genitive on the other tombs, which uniformly end with the letter ✚, *on*: as a native could have no motive to put up a funereal inscription in two languages, it is to be inferred that Sidarios was a Greek. Herodotus tells us (b. i. c. 173) that the Lycians traced their genealogies, not by the fathers, like the Greeks, but through their mothers and grandmothers; therefore the reason of the difference of termination between this and the other names is, that this is the name of a man, and those on the other tombs of the mothers of the owners; and ✚ is consequently the termination of the genitive of feminine names.

The next word *tedēeme* occurs twice; from the Greek it is evident that it means *son*, but the Orientalists who have studied this inscription have not been able to find an analogous word to it in any other language, which is very remarkable, as the terms of relationship have a great resemblance in all the languages of the same family. The nominative and dative of this word are the same; the dative plural *tedēemē* occurs on several of the other tombs, being formed by lengthening the final vowel of the singular.

The three succeeding words, *oŭrppe ētle ēoŭwe*, answer together to the Greek ἑαυτῳ; the corrected spelling of the first, and their separation into three words, is learned from the other tombs. The reasons for translating *ēoŭwe*, *his*, have been already given; *ētle* is often written *atle*, and seems related to the Sanscrit *atman*, signifying *self*; the meaning of *oŭrppe* has only been derived from the context, which admits of nothing but the preposition *for*, a sense which the word will bear in every sentence in which it occurs.

The exact spelling of the word *lade* is supplied from the other inscriptions; it is translated by γυναικι, *wife*, and is in the dative case; the nominative *lada* occurs in the inscription No. 5 of the same Plate: on No. 22 there is another form of the same word, *ladū*, upon which no reliance can be placed, as that inscription is very imperfect and incorrect. Mr. Yates connected this with the English words *lady* and *lad*, and the comparison is a very just one.

The word *sē* is the conjunction *and*, which, like the Greek και, preceded the word to which it refers: when the copulative follows the noun it is united to it, and written with a short vowel *se*. The change in the length of the vowel is natural, depending upon the different stress laid upon the word according to its position in the sentence, and illustrates the similar difference between και and the Latin *que*. In Zend and Sanscrit the conjunction *cha* or *tcha* follows the word, and is united to it. These different forms are an illustration of the change of

letters in the respective languages to which they belong: the Lycian conjunction was probably pronounced *she*, and it is in that language that the consonant is the most softened.

The only remaining word is the name of the son of Sidarios, which is not distinct; it was perhaps Pubialē, forming in the dative in Lycian Pubialēyē.

This sentence is too simple to throw much light upon the construction; it corresponds very closely to the Greek translation, the principal difference being the want of the article, which is supplied by a more frequent use of pronouns.

Inscription No. 20. Plate XXXVI.

ewuinu:	gorū:	mute	prinafatū	ēsēdēplume:	oûrppe	lade:
this	*tomb*		*made*	*Esedeplume*	*for*	*wife*

ēoûwe:	sē tedēsaemē:	ēoûweyē:	womēleyē.	
his	*and children*	*his*	*illegitimate.*	

Goru may safely be translated *tomb*, from its occupying the same position in the sentence as the word so translated in the last inscription. The Persian *gur*, a *tomb*, seems to be derived from the same root. In many of the inscriptions this word is spelled *gopu*, and indeed this is the more common spelling; yet it is *goru* in some of those which appear most accurate, especially in that at page 226 of your former Journal—a short inscription, upon which I place great reliance; and this form is confirmed by the Persian word *gur*. However, as there is some uncertainty about it, the original spelling is left uncorrected as it is found in each inscription.

Tedēsaemē is evidently derived from the same root as *tedēēme*, and must mean *children*.

Eoûweyē is the dative plural of *ēoûwe*: in the singular there is no difference between the nominative and the dative.

The last word *womēleyē* appears to be related to the Arabic *hameel*, an *illegitimate* child: there is a great difficulty in fixing

an exact value to the letter ✚ which begins this word, and which seems to be intermediate between *w* and *h*: the present instance would make us incline to the latter, but in other words the former is the preferable version of the letter. The remaining words have been already explained.

Inscription No. 7. Plate XXXVI.

ewuinu :	gopū :	mēte :	prinafatu :	pomasa :	ērteleyēsēoû :	
this	*tomb*		*made*	*Pomasa*	*Erteleyese's*	

tedēeme	oûrppe	lade :	ēoûwe	ofeītē :	gomēteyēoû :	zzemaze :
son	*for*	*wife*	*his*	*Ofeite*	*Gometeye's*	*daughter*

sē :	tedēemē :	ēoûweyē.
and	*children*	*his.*

The first four words were considered when the former inscription was explained; the next is the name of the owner of the tomb, followed by that of his mother: according to Bopp's grammar, feminine nouns in Zend which end in a vowel, form their genitives in *ao*, a sound for which that alphabet has a separate character; the letter ✚ corresponds to several letters in Zend, which is the cause of the difficulty in fixing its exact value; and it appears from its use as the termination of the genitives of female names, that it includes the Zend *ad* as well as *ou*, between the sounds of which there can be but little difference.

The context points out that *ofeitē* is the name of the wife of Pomasa, and the next word that of her mother; and that the word *zzemaze* must signify *daughter*. I have met with no direct confirmation of the translation of this last word, but in Bopp, p. 126, the Zend verb *zezami* is translated to *beget* or *produce*; *zzemaza*, the nominative of the word in question, may be derived from the same root.

Inscription No. 8. Plate XXXVI..

rezzete prinafatē: ddēpinēfēoû: tedēeme: oûrppe lade ēoûwe
Rezzete made Ddepinefe's son for wife his

sē: tedēemē.
and children.

Except an alteration in the construction of the sentence, there is nothing here which requires mention.

Inscription No. 5. Plate XXXVI.

ēwuinu: gopû mēte prinafantu ērāmēnoûne sē lada ēoûwe
this tomb made Eramenoune and wife his

āraertlaē pttē sē ēren . . . . . yaāe.
Araertlae.

This inscription is so imperfect, that I cannot venture to fill up the blank at the end; yet it contains two words which are of great help towards the grammar of the language: the nominative *lada*, of which only the dative *lade* is found elsewhere; and the plural of the verb which is formed from the singular, by inserting a letter before the last syllable: this letter stands in the copy I or *y*, which would give *prinafaytu*; but one of the commonest errors consists in copying I for ⋏; by making this change we obtain *prinafantu*, which corresponds so closely to the plural in Zend and Greek, that I have adopted it in the version given above.

At the foot of the inscription are two words in Greek characters, *τ-αλιος . νικαρχου*, which probably are the names of the artist, as they seem to have no reference to the rest of the inscription.

Inscription at page 226 of your former Journal.

ēwuinu: gorū: munē prinafatu: mēdē: ēpinume ēoûwe:
this tomb made Mede (for) ? his

wāprūna: sē: atle.
successor and himself.

This is perhaps the most accurate of all the inscriptions which you copied; the only alteration which I have made in it is the substitution of a stop for the I in the last line. Most of the words have been already explained, but there are two which are new to us.

Epinume appears to be a term of relationship, but I must leave its exact meaning doubtful: considering it as a compound word formed of *ĕpin* and *nme*, the former seems related to the Arabic *iben*, a *son*, and the latter to the Arabic *nm*, signifying *mother*; but even with this assistance, it is difficult to determine the meaning of the whole word. This and the following words are in the dative, the preposition *for*, which is usually expressed, being here understood.

Wăpruna seems to be derived from *wăpru*, which occurs in the lower inscription of the page preceding this; the termination in *na* has more resemblance to the instrumental case of the Zend than to the usual form of the dative. *Wapru* perhaps means *heir* or *successor*, and may then be connected with the Persian preposition *wapes*, which signifies *after*; this meaning is very suitable to the other sentence in which the word occurs; otherwise it must be a term of relationship.

Inscription No. 18. Plate XXXVI.

ēbuinu : *p*rinafu : mēnē : *p*rinafatu ddaoûa : srzzyoleoûoû
this *work* *made* *Ddaoûa* *N's*

tedēeme : oûrpe : *la*de ēoûwe sē tedēeme sē uwēlatedeēwa—a
son *for* *wife* *his* *and children* *and* *posterity*

mē . ē etēae tute ite—pa tēze sē ladū ēoûwe oûwfterēmē inepē
herein and wife *his*

ītē retuto tewēe : enē : oûlăme : tofēto oûlăme mēe tofēte tekē

tewēe itēae : tade tekē mēnē se tlēwe towēete trămele : wofēdre
Lycian

sē troûoûa l sē m—oûlt wofēdre.
and Troiton

In the above inscription the greater part remains to be explained hereafter; some parts are very imperfect; and at the end of the third line I have left a number of letters in confusion, as the inaccuracy of the copy does not enable me to divide the words with any probability of success. We have here another word signifying the tomb, *prinafu*, which is obviously the passive participle of the verb to which *prinafatu* belongs, and which may safely be translated *work*. It was from the comparison of these two words, that Dr. Grotefend first concluded that Lycian belonged to the family of the Indo-Germanic languages, since the verbs were conjugated in a manner analogous to those languages. The resemblance of *prinafatu* to the Greek *εποιησατο* is so great, that we may suppose it to be the same tense, the middle aorist: the form of the participle is more near to the Latin; if we add *M* to the word before us, making it *prinafum*, it might almost pass for the passive participle of a Latin verb. The only other forms in which we find this verb, are *prinafatē*, which may be the aorist of the active, and *prinapo*, which is perhaps a noun derived from the same root; the verb is probably *prinapame* or *prinafame*. No verb resembling this has been found in any of the Indo-Germanic languages, and it has been thought connected with the Arabic *bera*, *creating*, a verb which occurs in all the Semitic languages: it seems probable that the Lycians, who were close neighbours to the Syrians, should have some mixture of Semitic roots, and this derivation is probably correct. It must be remarked, that this verb, even if of Semitic origin, is nevertheless declined in the manner peculiar to the Indo-Germanic languages, having been completely adopted by the Lycians; yet it has neither augment nor reduplication, of both of which we shall meet with many instances further on in the Lycian verbs. The next word which requires notice occurs in the second line; it begins with *uwēla*, compounded with a word which may be *tedēenē* badly copied, but which is certainly connected with that word; here again the Semitic languages will help us: *weled* in Arabic is *son*; *welad*, *child-birth*, *bearing*

children, or *being born*; putting these words together, we have for the compound, *children's children*, *grand-children*, or *descendants*.

In the next line we find *ladu*, a case of the noun *lada*, which I must leave in doubt, though I conjecture it to be the accusative or dative plural, as it is not improbable that the owner here gives permission to his descendants to bury their wives also in the same tomb; *ēoûwe* in that case would mean *their* as well as *his*.

In the last two lines we find the two people mentioned, who together seem to have made up what was called by the Greeks Lycia, the *Tramelæ* and the *Troes*.

The use of the characters B, ⌶, and +, is different in this inscription from what we find in many others; they are more distinct from each other than usual, and yet it is difficult to fix their exact value: the B is always a consonant, and may be fairly rendered W; but both the other letters seem to act the part of vowel and consonant. The last word of the inscription is no doubt the same as that which terminates the preceding line, where P has been substituted for O; this occurs in another inscription written BOF↑ΔPE; thus the + is here a consonant, while in the words *oûrpe* and *ēoûwe* it is clearly a vowel; ⌶ occurs as a consonant in *uwela*, and as a vowel in *Troûoûa*; the L which ends this word must be incorrect, but I am at a loss what letter to substitute in its place.

Tēze in the third line seems identical with *tēse*, which we shall soon come to, meaning *herein*; the letters S and Z appear to be frequently interchanged by the sculptors.

The first part of this inscription is similar to the usual style of the others, but all the latter part is for the present quite unintelligible.

Inscription No. 14. Plate XXXVI.

The artist seems to have made a mistake when he commenced this inscription, and on discovering his error, to have begun

again lower down: we may disregard altogether the unfinished words in the upper part, and begin where it is corrected.

ēwuinu:	gopū:	mēte	prinnfatu:	tofa . . na:	oûrppe	hade sē
this	*tomb*		*made*	*N.*	*for*	*wife and*

tedōemē:	sēeyē itadu:	tēse:	meite:	adadawēle:	ada:	II
children	*Whoever buries*	*herein*		*let him pay a fine ada*		*2.*

The first sentence contains the usual statement of the person for whom the tomb was intended, and all the words in it have been already met with: the second part denounces any trespasser who makes use of the tomb as liable to a fine. Several of the Greek inscriptions which you have copied in Asia Minor contain a similar clause, and we shall find it again on other Lycian monuments: this has been placed first, because it is the simplest sentence in which a fine is mentioned, and consequently the most easily analysed.

The form of the word *sēeyē*, points out that it is a pronoun, its termination being similar to the Zend pronouns already mentioned; its meaning must be gathered from the context, where *who* or *whoever* seems required.

Itadu belongs to a verb which we shall meet with in a variety of tenses, *itatu*, *itata*, *itatatu*, and *itatadu*; the verb is probably *tatame* or *tadame*, equivalent to the Sanscrit *ḍaḍhami*, and to the Greek τιθημι, which latter word occurs on tombs in the sense of *bury*, which is the meaning required for the word before us. The short i at the beginning of *itadu* is the augment, which differs little from the ε added to the Greek verbs. The resemblance of the Lycian to the Greek verbs is so great, that we may refer to the Greek grammar for comparison; thus *itadu* and *itata* seem to be in the active voice, the latter answering to the imperfect ετιθη; *itatatu* and *itatadu* in the imperfect of the middle, as ετιθετο.

The translation of the two following words is conjectural; the sentence requires *herein*, or something to that effect, and the form of the words renders it probable that they are adverbs;

tēne being perhaps *here*, and *meite* the adverbial form of the demonstrative participle already mentioned, of which the adjective forms *mēte* and *mute* occur so often.

Ada in Arabic signifies *payment*; in our inscriptions it is always followed by a numeral, and must be a definite sum or piece of money: *tawan* in Arabic is a *fine* or *penalty*: the word *adadawēle*, or as it is elsewhere spelt, *adadawcale*, is a verb in the imperative, compounded of *ada* and *tawan*, which together give the meaning *to pay a fine*. The only word in the inscription about which there is any doubt, is the name of the owner of the tomb, which is not perfectly copied.

Second Inscription at page 225 of your former Journal.

ēwuinu : prinafu : mēnē prinafatu aoûgkwade : pezewedēoû :
this work made Aougkwade Pezewede's

tedēeme ysē : wāprū mēoû : towēs : sēeyē itatadu : meite ada-
son If successor of me herein any one allows to bury let

dēwale : ada : O — sē yutre : itata ada : III — sē peyētuoû :
him pay a fine adas 30 And other buries adas 13 And

rzzeitañ : I . . . . . ade : ēoûw : sē minēuē edēwē
sum that and

ēsēdu inēfe ↄ sē peytu : utre : itatu prinēze : atlawe.
and no one other may bury beloved by themselves.

I cannot translate the whole of what precedes, even with the help of guessing at the meaning of one or two of the words; yet the subject can be made out sufficiently to obtain an insight into the construction of the sentences, which throw more light upon the structure of the language than any other inscription yet translated.

The first paragraph, down to the word *son*, admits of no doubt; the only words to be remarked in it are *poinafu* and *prinfatu*, instead of *prinafu* and *prinafatu*, as we find them

written elsewhere; as these are probably errors in making the copy, they have been corrected above.

The general meaning of the second paragraph cannot be mistaken, but it is not easy to explain the use of each separate word in it. I have some doubt whether the first word should be *ysē* or *sē*; the first character I is often copied in the place of the stop, which is here omitted; and it is so rarely found preceding a consonant, that I never find it in such a position without suspecting that a mistake has been made. On the other hand, in Anquetil's vocabulary of Zend, *iēzē* is translated *if*, which is so appropriate in this sentence that it has been adopted. The fourth letter of the next word is imperfect; by reading it *r* we get *wāprū*, the nominative of *wāprūsa*, which occurs in the inscription at page 226 of the same volume: it has already been proposed to translate this word *successor* or *heir*, from the context in these two passages: it occurs nowhere else, so there is no other clue to it. *Mēaā* will be readily admitted as the genitive of *me*; yet it must be observed, that this translation, although not improbable in itself, does not make a correctly grammatical sentence, as the inscription begins in the third person. *Towēs* takes the place of *tise* in the inscription No. 14, and requires the same translation of *herein* or *therein*: the remaining words, down to the amount of the fine, have been explained before; but *sēeyē* requires a slightly different translation from that previously given, *any one* being here preferable to *whoever*.

The next short paragraph is clear; the only doubt is, whether to write *yutre* as we find it, or to consider I as the representative of the stops, and to spell the word *utre*. The latter seems the most probable, as that word occurs lower down in the inscription, but the former spelling is found in the fragment No. 16, so it must be left uncertain: in either case there is no doubt that it means *other*, as it is very close to the Latin *uter*, and to the cognate words in most languages of the same family, all of which favour the spelling *utre* rather than *yutre*.

It has been already pointed out that *itata* is an active, and

itutadu a middle tense of the verb *bury*; the whole sentence turns upon the different meaning of the verb in the two voices: if the person who holds the property in the tomb *allows a stranger to be buried in it*, he is to be fined 30 adas, *and if another buries in it*, he is to pay 13 adas. At first sight the fines appear out of proportion, as a trespass upon the property of another is a greater offence than a breach of trust; but this apparent anomaly disappears if we take the two paragraphs as relating to the same act, and translate, *if my successor allows any one to bury herein let him pay a fine of* 30 *adas; and if another person* [*having such permission*] *buries* [*herein, let him pay*] 13 *adas*; putting it thus, the holder of the property is guilty of a greater offence in committing a breach of trust, than the stranger who acts upon his orders or permission.

The numerals are exactly identical with those used by the Phœnicians, which are explained in Gesenius's work on the Phœnician Monuments, chap. vi.; the upright lines are *units*, the horizontal lines *tens*, and O *twenty*.

The sentence which follows the second set of numerals, probably directs the manner in which the amount of the fine is to be applied, which is apparently to be in two parts; the analogy of the Greek inscriptions found in the country, would lead us to suppose that half was to go to the public treasury, and half to the informer. The copy of this part of the inscription must not be altogether relied on; the third word cannot be correct, and the *l* which follows is apparently the beginning of a word of which all the rest is lost: ⇑+B occurs nowhere else, and has probably lost a vowel at the end. I mention these apparent errors, in the hope that they may be examined by some other traveller who may visit Lycia.

The detached sentence at the end points out the parties who are allowed to make use of the tomb, which is not stated in the usual manner in the beginning of the inscription: the first two words, *ēsēdu inēfe*, describe the persons intended: the same words occur among the relations in the upper inscription of the same

page, so that we may be sure that they are terms of relationship, but I have not made out what degree they describe: they are followed by the character Ɔ, which Mr. Yates pointed out to be a stop; in the long inscription on the obelisk at Xanthus it marks the end of a sentence; here its force is slighter, hardly exceeding that of a comma. I conjecture that *peytu* may mean *no one*, as that is the only translation which makes the sentence intelligible: *itatu* is another form of the verb *bury*; *prinēze* is the participle of a verb, which in Sanscrit is *prinami*, to *love*; compared with the Greek it would be the passive aorist participle; it occurs in two other inscriptions, No. 9 and No. 11, Plate XXXVI.; the former is a fragment, but in the latter it is applied to a name taking the place of the word *wife* thus, *for his beloved, &c.*: *atlawe* is the dative of *atle*, *himself*, a word of constant occurrence. The sentence put together runs thus: *so and so, and no other, may bury those beloved by them.*

The form of several of the letters in this inscription is peculiar, and their slope and position are very irregular.

Upper inscription at page 225 of your former Journal.

ēwuinu : prinaro : mēte prinafatu mumrofe : gitēnowēoû :
this *work* *made* *Mumrofe* *Gitenowe's*

tedēeme oûrppe ēsēdē inēfe : ginawe ēoûwe ēoûe : sē chorttge
son *for* *wife* *his* *him* *and*

lada sēinē sāmate teyge : kweyēwes : mēinē neyēso ēsēdē inēfe :

eptēwe : itēpata sēeyē : itatūtu : tēse meite adadawale : ada : III.
whoever *let bury* *herein* *pays a fine* *adas* 3.

Very little of this inscription has yet been made out. The second word *prinaro* is probably mis-copied, and should perhaps be *prinafo*, a noun derived from the verb *prinafami*, or another form of its participle. *Esēdē inēfe* occur in the last inscription commented upon; their position here shows that these

words apply to some part of the family, but I have not been able to trace their meaning: the following word *ginawe* is either the genitive or dative of *gina*, another term for *wife*; in Zend *ghēnā* has this meaning (Burnouf, *Comm.* p. 272); and the Greek γυνη is also related to it. Some of the following words are already known to us, but not enough to give any clue to the meaning of the middle part of the inscription; the conclusion is similar to that of No. 14, imposing a fine upon trespassers.

Inscription No. 13. Plate XXXVI.

ēwuinu : *pr*inafū : mute prina*f*atu : ē . . . emino . . a semotēoû :
this work made N. Semote's

tedēeme : oûrppe : atle : ēoûwe sē : une : ēoûwe.
son for self his and mother his.

In the original copy the last word but one is *yune;* I have substituted a stop : for the I, which leaves *une*, a word which occurs elsewhere, and which has been already compared with the Arabic *um*, signifying *mother*. The rest of the inscription requires no remark, all the words having been already met with.

Inscription No. 15. Page 36.

ēwuinu : gopū : mēte *p*rinafatu : apinūtama oûrppe : lade :
this tomb made Apinutama for wife

ēoûwe : sē : tedēemē : mēepi : podu : teitē gawra . . . . we :
his and children.

cazzeyē : kwayru.

The beginning of this inscription requires no explanation, being similar to several already considered; I have not been able to make anything out of the latter part, in which every word is unknown, and several of the letters are probably incorrect.

It is useless to write out all the imperfect inscriptions, so I will merely run through those which remain on Plate XXXVI., making such remarks as suggest themselves upon each.

No. 1 is in Phœnician, accompanied with a Greek translation: both are very imperfect.

No. 2, the tomb of Mēdēmode: several words are wanting at the end of the first line, and the whole is very imperfect.

No. 4 is a short funereal inscription very imperfectly copied, which contains nothing of interest.

No. 6 contains only the end of what appears to have been a long funereal inscription; it ends with the mention of a fine of twelve adas.

No. 9 is a funereal inscription, of which only the first part of each line is copied, so that we have not more than a third part of the whole.

No. 10. The Lycian words are *Lezue, the son of Soukaza*; the Greek are *επιτυχανοντος του ονιμυθου*, between which I can discover no connection: *επιτυχανων* occurs as a man's name on one of the Greek inscriptions which you have brought home, and may be so here; in which case he may be the artist, and Lezue the owner of the tomb.

No. 11, a monument erected by Ddapssana; the lines are incomplete at the end, and a great part of the inscription is very incorrect and unintelligible. The second line begins *ourppe prinēze ēoūwe orewellawa, for his beloved Orewella*; the last word being apparently the name of the wife of the owner of the tomb.

No. 12 seems to want the termination of each line, and the whole is full of errors: it is a funereal inscription beginning in the usual manner, but too imperfect to be understood.

No. 16 contains only the beginning of each line of a long funereal inscription in the usual style, ending with the infliction of a fine. More than half of each line is lost, but what we have is tolerably correct.

No. 17 is very incorrect, and in the same manner has only the commencement of each line.

No. 19 is part of a long funereal inscription in a very imperfect state: two or three words can be made out here and there, but the rest is quite hopeless.

No. 22 is a similar inscription in rather better condition than the last, yet too imperfect to be made out.

No. 23 is an inscription of a different class, and which promises more interest than any of the others; but it is so imperfect that I can make nothing of it. Comparing it with the drawing of the monument on which it occurs, at p. 219 of your former Journal, the first part appears very nearly complete, but only a few detached words have been copied of the lower part. The inscription does not begin in the manner of any of those we have yet met with, nor does it contain any words of a funereal character; and I should rather think that it is a royal decree in the style of those on the obelisk at Xanthus. In the second line are the words S↑B↑ : ΠΑSBΨ↑, the second of which requires some correction, and should probably be ΠΑSΑΨ, leaving the *ē* as part of the next word, and making *sēwē pasau, of the king of kings*, an expression which occurs on the obelisk, and which will be fully discussed hereafter. *Zerssē*, in the first line, has a strong resemblance to Xerxes; but it would be rash to assert it to be that name from such imperfect evidence, and without understanding the context. From the manner in which the letter B is used as a vowel, I am inclined to think this one of the oldest of the inscriptions you have copied, but not quite so ancient as those on the first two sides of the obelisk at Xanthus.

In the present imperfect state of this inscription I cannot even divide it into words. It is to be hoped that future travellers in Lycia will endeavour to make a better copy of this document, the contents of which may be of great historical interest.

Inscriptions on the Tomb of Payara.

The three following inscriptions occur upon different sides of the same monument, and have therefore, in all probability, some reference to one another: for this reason they are here brought together, although I can throw very little light upon them. The monument itself is represented at the frontispiece, and again at p. 228 of your former Journal, where one of the inscriptions may be seen: at p. 230 of that volume is a representation of the bas-relief on the other side of the tomb, with an inscription over it, and Plate XXIII. of the present volume represents the figures and inscription at the end of the tomb. The monument is very beautiful, and the sculpture upon it of the highest style of art.

At the end of the tomb are two armed figures, with the following inscription:—

payara : ēd
tedēeme
raoû : tēluze
pēaty gēe
ofētstēre g
eyeyu
ēra*f*azeya : ēr
amē prifagū
owawe : te : r
gmzdeayi . . de

This is obviously incomplete; and I suspect that you have not allowed space enough in the drawing for the words lost at the end of each line: several of the letters must be corrected before the words can be pronounced.

Payara is the name of the owner of the tomb, and is probably one of the heroes represented in the accompanying bas-relief: the next word has been the name of his mother, followed by *tedēeme*, *son*: *tēluze* is the aorist or participle of a verb, of which I cannot determine the meaning: by a very slight cor-

rection we obtain in the seventh line *ērafazeya*, which occurs in the bilingual inscription No. 3, translated *μνημα*, a *tomb*: all the rest is quite unintelligible.

The inscription over the battle-scene on one side of the tomb is not very perfect: with some slight corrections we may read

payara manage se prinafantu prinafū ewuinu,

Payara and Manage caused this work to be made. The name of *Payara* is obtained by merely changing *f* into *r*; the second word is more doubtful; nor is it clear whether the verb is as given above, in the plural, or *prinafatu*, in the singular.

Over the group of figures on the other side of the tomb is an inscription, of which I can make nothing.

ēwēeya grofat*a* mēcyē pcyētu : rat . . at . . a : gssadrapapr
a : pdū : tēluze : ēpattē : trāme*l*es ēma

The only words which I can recognise here are *ēwēeya*, the feminine of *this*, and *trāmele*, *Lycian*.

The inscription under the battle-scene, represented at Plate XXXI, is also a complete puzzle to me, as I cannot make out whether it is to be read continuously or in short detached sentences, applying to the different groups of figures: as I can give no explanation of any part of it, I have not repeated it here, and merely refer to the Plate containing it.

Inscriptions on the Obelisk at Xanthus.

Having gone through all the shorter inscriptions, we now come to the most important, which cover the four sides of the Obelisk at Xanthus, represented at Plate XX.

In these I am able to translate very little. In the short funereal inscriptions, which differ very little from one another, the context points out the meaning of many of the words, which may be considered as certain, if it is confirmed by finding an analogous word in any of the languages to which Lycian is

related; but in a long inscription, such as we are now going to examine, of which the subject is quite unknown, this resource is of no avail, unless a sufficient number of words in the same sentence can be determined, to form a connected sense: in the present state of the study this is very rarely the case.

On the north-east side of the monument, about twenty lines are wanting at the top to make up the same height as on the north-west. The first four lines which follow this blank are in Lycian, but so imperfectly copied as to defy all attempts at explanation; and in the last line of the four there is a mixture of Greek and Lycian characters, which causes complete confusion.

The next eleven lines are in Greek: it would be of great assistance towards understanding the Lycian inscriptions on this monument if we could read this part, and gain from it a general idea of the subject; but it is unfortunately the most imperfectly copied, and only a few words can be made out here and there.

Lycia and *Lycians* occur several times, but with an inaccuracy of spelling, being written λυχια and λχια: this circumstance is in itself very slight, but shows us that we must not expect very good orthography in the rest. In the third line we may read *και το αε μου μνημα* (*αε* being used for *αει*), or *και τοδε μου μνημα*; in either case this is enough to show that it is a decree running in the first person. In the next line, *αρπαγο υιος αριστευς*, or *αριστευσας*: probably *υ* has been omitted in copying the first of these words, and we ought to read it *αρπαγου υιος*; or the *ο* may be used instead of the diphthong *ου*, as *αε* in the preceding line instead of *αει*: the word which precedes these must be the name of the son of Harpagus, but it is imperfect: *αριστευς* seems to be used for *governor*, which is not its usual meaning, but it is probably the translation of some Persian title. The name of Harpagus occurs twice in the Lycian part of the inscription; at the end of the twenty-sixth and beginning of the twenty-seventh line on this side, *arppagos* in the nominative; and in the thirty-fourth line of the south-west side,

arppagooi tedēeme, or *son of Harpagus*: in this passage also the son's name is lost. The only difference in the Greek and Lycian manner of writing this name is the doubling of the *p* in the latter. In the seventh line, by altering one letter, we get *δωκε μερος βασιλεας*; and in the following *αρινα*, which has been shown to be the ancient name of the city of Xanthus, where this monument stands, and which occurs several times in the Lycian part of the inscription.

It is dangerous to draw conclusions from such slight premises, yet as these few words are all that can be made out, we must make the most of them. Harpagus, as we learn from Herodotus, book i. c. 142 to 177, was a Mede, who commanded in Asia Minor for Cyrus the Great, and conquered Ionia, Caria, Lycia, and the *whole of Lower Asia*. He would naturally be appointed governor over the countries he had conquered, and the words of the inscription, *gave a part of the kingdom*, may allude to this appointment: as these are in the third, while the beginning of the decree is in the first person, they seem to apply to a donation or appointment by one of the predecessors of the king issuing the decree. The son of Harpagus previously spoken of must be supposed to have succeeded his father in the government, and to have been in the command at the time the decree was made.

The account given by Xenophon (Cyrop., book viii. c. 7.) of the distribution of his estates made by Cyrus the Great on his death-bed, confirms the preceding supposition: he named Cambyses king, and his younger son, Tanoaxares (called Smerdis by Herodotus) satrap of the Medes, Armenians, and Cadusii. The exclusion of Asia Minor from the satrapy of Tanoaxares, to which it would geographically be a natural addition, seems to show that it was not at that time in the king's gift, which it could not be if previously granted to Harpagus and his son.

The Greek part of the inscription is followed by thirty-four lines in Lycian, which are for the most part complete, and fairly copied, yet containing occasional errors, of which I have ven-

tured to correct a few which are obvious: these corrections are distinguished as before by italics. The words which I have succeeded in translating are so few, that they are not worth printing in separate lines. The sentences being separated by a stop Ɔ, the most convenient method is to go through the whole, sentence by sentence, pointing out such words in each as can be translated.

The Lycian, which follows the Greek part of the inscription, is not a translation of it; it is therefore probable that the upper part of the stone contained, in Lycian, the decree of which the Greek is a translation; but this can only be known when some future traveller shall bring home an accurate copy of the Greek and of the uppermost portion of the inscription. The rest is as follows:—

North-east side, commencing below the Greek.

1. swertē : mēzewēema : sawasem*a*u r*u*ēepē : sēwē : pasaū
2. natre : slate : goszttē : desleē getawo sēwē itēla
3. *m*ratroyēle : zazate : noûoû : | : troûoûe * * k*ēpē : mēdēz p
4. ple : gegwatoû : wētwē*l*ēemessekētēse : ofē * * r.
5. ē ruplez sēwē l*u*le : ren*pe : ma*ase toleyēe
6. ēanrp : troûoûde : geae*ga* : mē gwade*z* : kode : mr******
7. kssf : trămele : ya : ofē teralmrofasa : kopll
8. sēwē gwadase ēsunūmla : | ēwe nowē kērē : sēs
9. ode slūmate : *t*roûoûlū : ăoûru : more : toplēlēeme
10. az : sēwē swertu pzzoûte : lēlēwede : gitawase
11. rē : nekē : fa*g*se : pewe : krēsē : r*ărale : prēde : gapa*e : y*
12. rde : mpn*rsofute : sēwe lulamre : gitawaeme slūme
13. *t*roûoûēū : | mē ofē kēmeyēde : rgsade : *t*roûoûetez erēem
14. ē mēde : gwadasade kode mafatē : kllēema : feyēdre : it
15. ofetune : pdorade : sēwē : pas*a*ū : | itēnē rokēte : gwede
16. fine : olagade *z*rutune : sē runare**oprete : toragss
17. aēe : na : tretemlonafatē : foûgsade : fezttasrpazi : |
18. ukēwēe goste tlomp**azi oûllēe mēde : swertu : gwad
19. ez : tofe pēnēra drēt*a* : gē*a*e*g*a : froks*a* : noree : sēwe zri

20. *g*ale : nēetaē**sē : dēkere sreso : winū tweso : prētē
21. lagade : zrutune : sēwēwē werzu : otakeya trămelez
22. tweplu tr*a*plu toworez pd*o*rade : gozrofutez : |
23. ūzwe tomenēse : witafū : kredēse : sēwede : werzu zef
24. edēfasasa : mofat* zrutunez : ade : nofe ladē : ēpetade
25. sēwe pas*a*wū : | nēpē weeescootēto itēleya : pedretu
26. nererle : moaulēde : toworez : o*lēzez : sefē tese : arpp
27. agos ute : tăpēfute : | kewe ofē nēo : tssēyē : wedrede : er
28. gadeze ruplē mēde ruplē : grade : fagsa : tpreyēlē : mu
29. me : mafele kllēe mēde : almūnalaū : | kezē : oûlēpulitas
30. ēdedēwe kode : powrate : pērē : mēdeyē tekē : gozritas
31. es eg roûoûlatu : t*r*oûoûitase tale ērmēdēlēle : toleyēle
32. feg sawa lawamē tămē gwalē : luăpē : tonēpine : sewē ru
33. p*l*e sawa k* : wētwēlēena troûoûez : tweso : slreyē kawo
34. oū sē nēmasa.

First sentence: *swertē* may be compared to the Arabic *suret*, an *image*, *copy* or *transcript*; the last is the meaning most suitable to the context; it is in the plural—the singular *swertu* occurs below in line 10. I derive the next word, *mēzewēema*, from the Zend, but with some doubt as to the explanation which follows: *tema* in that language is the sign of the superlative (Burnouf Comment., p. 265); if we regard *ema* as having the same use in Lycian, there will remain *mēzewē*; we shall find as we advance that the Lycian genitives are formed *ewe*, *wē*, *ēwē*, *awa*, or by the addition of *ū*, so that this may be regarded as the genitive of *mēze*, in which we recognise the Zend root *maz*, *great* (Burn. Introd., p. 81). The principal difficulty arises from the manner in which the superlative suffix *ema* is added to the termination of the genitive case, a formation so different from all that we are accustomed to, that it requires confirmation: in the passage of the Zend-Avesta to which M. Burnouf's Commentary above quoted applies, the superlative sign *tema* is added to the genitive case of the name of Zoroaster thus, *Zarathrusthrô-temâi*, the whole forming a compound adjective;

this construction, though not identical with that under consideration, is very analogous to it.

The words *sawasemau*, *sēwē* and *pasaū* are all derived from the same root as the Persian *shah*, a *king*. This root appears in Lycian to be *sa*: it is doubtful whether this occurs in the nominative in the inscriptions before us, but it is the only form to which all the derivatives can be reduced: if, as I have no doubt, the *s* was pronounced as *sh*, it would become *sha*, which is very close to the modern Persian *shah*: this word seems to have formed its genitive in two manners, *saū* and *sawa*; the latter occurs repeatedly on this monument, and from it is formed the genitive plural *sēwē*, *of kings*. *Pasau* is the genitive of *pasa*, or, altering the pronunciation of the *s*, *pasha*, to which we must not attach the inferior meaning given to it by the Turks, but that of the Persian *padshah*, *emperor*, a title superior to that of *shah*, and of which the kings of Persia are very jealous: see d'Herbelot, Dict. Orient. v. *padischah*; it is formed of *pad*, *chief* and *shah*. The two words *sēwē pasa* form together the well-known title of the kings of Persia, the *king of kings*, or, as it would be more literally translated in the present instance, the *emperor of kings*, corresponding to the Persian *shahin padshah*. *Sawasemaū* is the genitive of *sasema* or *sawasema*; if of the former, the first syllable of the word, as well as the last, changes its form in the genitive case; of this we shall find many instances, and this change of the plural *sēwē* from the singular *sawa* is analogous to it: if the nominative is *sawasema*, the compound word has been formed from the oblique case *sawa*, instead of the nominative: the Sanscrit *s'asena*, a *decree*, supplies the meaning of this word. The next word appears to be *ruēpē*, but it is imperfectly copied and I cannot find its meaning; from its position it seems to qualify the decree: omitting this word, the line may be translated *transcripts of the greatest decree of the king of kings*, referring to the two copies of the royal decree in Lycian and Greek engraved on the upper part of the stone. The name of the king might be expected to ac-

company his title, but I cannot detect it in the sentence, nor does the Greek decree commence with it: probably the Lycian decree, which stood first on the monument, began with the name and titles of the king, and it was not thought necessary to repeat them again.

The Zend form of the word *shah* is *khchaya*, the Persepolitan is *khchahyoh*, according to M. Burnouf's reading of the cuneiform inscriptions (*Mémoire sur deux Inscriptions cunéiformes*, etc., p. 76); therefore in this word the Lycian form has more resemblance to the Sanscrit and modern Persian than to the Zend or Persepolitan. The contrary is far more common.

The title of *king of kings* was borne by the kings of Persia until Alexander's conquest: from that period the title was not used until it was revived by the Mahometan sultans in the tenth century. But as the Arabic conquest put down the fire-religion and the worship of Ormuzd, this title, coupled with the mention of Ormuzd, whose name we shall find repeatedly on this monument, would prove, even if we had no other evidence, that the inscription was more ancient than the time of Alexander. I cannot trace the original use of *padshah*, in distinction to *shah*: it does not appear to be of pure Persian origin, although it is given as such in the Persian dictionaries, for there is no analogous word in Zend; nor does it occur in the Persepolitan inscriptions, where the royal title is *khchahyoh khchahyohanam*; and the usual Greek translation βασιλευς βασιλεων, agrees better with *shah of shahs* than with the Lycian phrase *pashah of shahs*. The earliest mention of it which I can find, is among the Pehlvi words in Anquetil's vocabulary, where the Zend word *khscheed, king*, is rendered in Pehlvi by *padescha*: it would seem, therefore, that *pad* was an addition of Semitic origin, which came into use when Pehlvi was the language of the Persian court.

If this view is correct, it explains our finding the word *pasa* in the Lycian language, which has evidently a mixture of Semitic words, although not to the same extent as Pehlvi. If we could find *pasa* in the Persian language at the time of Cyrus

the Great, it would explain the derivation of the name of Pasargada, which has given much trouble: that city was built by Cyrus, and the name is translated by Stephanus Byzantinus, *camp of the Persians*; but to sustain this etymology, it should be written *Parsagada*: the word *pasa* suggests the derivation of *pasa's castle*.

Of the rest of this sentence I can say but very little: I have altered the division of the words in the latter part of the second line, and suspect that several letters require correction, but I cannot attempt a translation: *getawo* should probably be *gitawo*, an *order*, related to the verb *gitawaeme*, to *order*, of which we shall meet with many tenses, and whose meaning is deduced from the Arabic *kitab*, a *book*, *writing*, or *order*: *sewē* must here be in the dative plural, that case and the genitive being usually, if not always, the same; when not accompanied by *pasa*, this word can hardly be translated *kings*, but must describe the *governors* or *satraps* to whom the king's decree is directed: *zazate* has a strong resemblance to the Sanscrit *s'asa*, to *command* or *govern*, a word derived from the same root as *shah*; yet in that case it should rather be written *sazate*, unless the Lycians confused together the letters *z* and *s*, of which we shall perhaps meet with other instances. There is a Zend verb *zaza*, which M. Burnouf translates *laisser aller*, *faire couler* (Comm., p. 411, note); this exactly answers to our word in form, but that meaning can hardly apply to the passage before us, and I am rather disposed to translate it *commands*; it is obviously the third person singular of the present tense of a verb. The word *sodod* is so near to *sovus*, that it should probably be rendered *new*; but without knowing the general bearing of the sentence, such resemblances cannot be relied upon.

It is evident, from the commencement of this sentence, that this part of the inscription is not a royal decree, but is issued by some subordinate authority, probably by the son of Harpagus, as satrap or governor.

Of the second sentence beginning in the middle of line 3,

I can explain but few words, and those are only geographical names. The first word is imperfect; it should probably be *troñoñes*, the *Troes* or people of Tlos, whose history has been already considered at some length; *troñoñde* in the sixth line refers to the same people: this name occurs with many different terminations, perhaps designating the town of Tlos, the district or province of which that city was the capital, and their inhabitants, but I have no clue by which to apportion the names to each. In line 7 we have *trõmele*, the *Termile* or *Tremile* of the Greek geographers and of Herodotus, whose capital was Xanthus, and between whom and the *Troes* the whole of Lycia seems divided. *Mãdẽ* or *mãdẽz*, (for the division of the words is here lost) which occurs at the end of the third line, admits of no doubt; frequent mention of the *Medes* is to be expected in connection with the name of Harpagus, who was of that nation: the nominative singular of this word is apparently *mẽde*, the nominative plural *mẽdẽ*, and *mẽdẽz* may be the accusative plural; but there is some doubt about these terminations in *z*, which are not uncommon. *Geyweatoñ*, *gweadez* and *gweduse* are different tenses of one verb, of which the meaning is still unknown; the syllable *ge* in the first is a reduplication, as is common in Greek and Sanscrit. *Sẽwẽ*, the *schuhs* or *governors*, occurs twice in this sentence. *Ya* at line 7 is the relative pronoun *which* or *that*; in Sanscrit *ya* is the feminine, *yat* the neuter pronoun; but from the constant omission of the terminal consonant in Lycian, this word may be in the neuter. In the sixth line I have restored *gẽaega*, the town of *Gagæ*, of which the coins have been already described; and at the end of line 7, *kopll* should probably be restored to *kopalle*, of which there are several coins, and which I propose to identify with the district of *Cabalia* or *Caballis*. The rest of this sentence must be left for the present in complete obscurity; many of the words are still undivided, and others imperfect.

The next sentence begins in line 8; the first word *ẽwe*

is the dative of the pronoun *he*: in line 9 I have restored *troûoûlu*, supposing that word to apply to the *Troes*; *troûoûēū* in line 13, is probably the same word. The next word is *ăoûru*, the Persian divinity *Ormuzd*, the principal deity of the fire-worshipers: in the Zend-Avesta this name is written Ahura Mazda, upon which M. Burnouf has written at some length (Comm., p. 70), and each of these words is used separately to designate the same being; the term *Ahura Mazda* has been gradually altered until it has been contracted into the Parsee name *Ormuzd*: in the inscription on the south-east side of this monument we shall find *Aoûremez*, which is a close approach to the original name. Anquetil writes this word *Ehoro*, which is nearer to the Lycian spelling than the orthography adopted by M. Burnouf; in the Lycian word the second syllable is formed by the letter 𐊣, which must therefore have been aspirated where used as a vowel. Our finding Ormuzd frequently mentioned in this inscription is of great importance, as it connects the monument with the Persians at the time when they followed the religion of Zoroaster. The Persepolitan inscriptions of the reigns of Darius Hystaspes and Xerxes are also in the name of Ormuzd. *Sēwē*, the *shahs*, occurs again in the tenth and twelfth lines; in the former accompanied by *swertu*, a *transcript*, which we met with above. *Gitawaeme*, in the twelfth line, is the first person of the present tense of the verb to *order* already mentioned, to which *gitawase* in line 10 also belongs.

Troûoûetez in line 13, refers to the *Troes*; and this sentence finishes with the words *sēwē pasau, king of kings*.

In the next sentence, from the middle of line 15 to the end of line 17, I cannot make out a single word. In that which follows there are several words which we have met with already: in line 18, *mēde*, *Median*, and *swertu*, a *transcript*; in line 19 *sēwē*, the *shahs*, in 21, *sēwēwē*, which is perhaps an incorrect copy of the same word, and *trămelez*, the *Tremilæ*; in line 19, *pēnēra* is probably the town of *Pinara*, and *gēaega*

Gagæ; and the two words which accompany these, *drēta* and *froksa*, are probably also the names of towns; the latter may be *Phrixos*, mentioned by Stephanus as a town of Lycia.

In line 23 we have *tomenēse*; of this the last syllable is the enclitic *se*, equivalent to the Latin *que*; the remainder, *tomenē*, is a word which we shall meet with frequently further on; it may perhaps be translated *inhabitants*, or *dwelling in*, and be connected with the Latin *domus*, and the Zend *dáman*, which M. Burnouf translates *création*, *peuple*, *place*, &c. (Comm., p. 358). The next word is ✝ΞTAF𐌕, or *witafū*; this is the only instance where the letter ✝ occurs on this side of the monument; and it appears superfluous, as *itafu* frequently occurs without it; it therefore appears that in this instance it can hardly be more than an aspirate. *Sēwēde*, in the same line, is the word *sēwē* united to the particle *de*. In line 25 we again find the phrase *king of kings*, but the last word is written ΓΑSBBΨ, which can hardly be correct; if we read *pasawu* we must suppose that *pasa* is declined either *pasau* or *pasawu*, the latter form being nearly analogous to *sawa*, from *sa*.

In the next sentence the only word recognized is the name of Harpagus, written *arppagos*, which is divided between the lines 26 and 27.

In the twenty-seventh line a new paragraph begins with the word *kewē*: in the fiftieth line of the north-west side are the words *kewē pasao*, which appear synonymous with *sēwē pasau*, *king of kings*: this word is also written *kēwē* in the sixth line of that side of the monument. We have here the Lycian word which is analogous to the Zend *kava*, *king*, or, as it is also written in that language, *káva*, the first vowel being either long or short in Zend, as it is in Lycian. The earliest dynasty of Persian kings, whose history can be relied upon, was called the Caianian, a name derived from the title *ké*, or *king*, prefixed to their names, and which having afterwards dropped out of the Persian language, became regarded as especially applicable to them. The title *kava* is fully explained in M. Burnouf's Commentary,

p. 423, and the difficulties attending it are thoroughly considered; but instead of adopting the derivation which that author has given of the term *Caianian*, as *descendants of the sun*, p. 454, it would be more simple to consider *sa* or *shah*, and *ka*, *kai*, or *ké* (for there is a doubt as to the form of the nominative), as modifications of the Zend form *khchaya*, which have adapted themselves to the different powers of pronunciation of the neighbouring people.

From this point to the bottom of the inscription are two sentences about which little can be said; the Medes are mentioned several times, and also the Troes. In lines 32 and 33 the word *sawa* occurs twice; this is the singular of *shah*, either in the genitive or dative case; and in line 32 is the plural *sêwê*.

You see that as yet but little progress has been made in translating this interesting inscription, as the few words which have been picked out here and there are not sufficient to show even the general bearing of the document. I could have increased the number very much, by adding all those which have a resemblance to any words in the neighbouring languages, but that would not have added anything to the knowledge of the subject, but would rather have confused it, by overwhelming the little that is known with a mass of conjecture.

In this and the inscriptions on the other sides of the same monument the Medes are frequently spoken of, but we find no mention of the Persians, unless the word *fagsa*, which, as well as its derivatives, is of frequent occurrence, be considered to represent Persia; the name of that country may be written with either *p* or *f*, and the letter *r* is in some eastern dialects changed into a guttural; yet the change from *Persia*, or *Farsa*, to *fagsa*, is too great to be admitted without corroborative evidence, and I only allude to it because we might expect some mention of the Persians in connection with the Medes, and *fagsa* is the only word in the inscription which has the slightest resemblance to *Persia*. Herodotus was well acquainted with the history of

both Medes and Persians, but the name which he uses in preference is Mede; he speaks of the "army of the Medes," and of "Darius, the king of the Medes." As Harpagus was a Mede, it is probable that the troops with which he conquered Lycia were principally of that nation, so that we need not be surprised at finding the Medes constantly spoken of here.

The only remaining remarks which I have to make upon this inscription, relate to the orthography: the letter **B** occurs single fifty-two times, in many of which it must be considered as a mere vowel, although in the majority of cases it is either a consonant or a semi-vowel; **B B** occurs six times, in all of which they must both be vowels; + only occurs once; ⊥ single occurs ten times, being sometimes vowel and sometimes consonant; and the same double four times, all of which are vowels exactly equivalent to **B B**. It will be seen that their proportions are very different on the south-west and south-east sides of the monument, on which + is a character far oftener used than **B**.

North-west side of the Obelisk at Xanthus.

1. —— koû : ēdăoûru ētr . . . . . etofry ——
2. —— crēe mēde sēwē l*u : ylūt ——
3. —— lēde : aēekēmlume ēkēml ——
4. —— fesede profyr | aloûrū nakēm ——
5. —— rsaoûretū pētols . . . . ēleyē ——
6. zroûpēdone kēwē tămerē r ——
7. roûū ofēte sokru: | rloûmowu ——
8. ēzete winu : twa : gozritrū ——
9. ala : ralaraema : sapale fē ——
10. eūmū : tēfē sē arăpū : | atle ——
11. ēlole sē : trămelē : kopr ——
12. —— wede ortoma ssgū : ——
13. —— wē sekē : lostroûgē ——
14. —— kwez sē wofēdre . . . ap ——

15. —— nē otene lēlēpwēdepē ——
16. —— gnu : kopre eptoete : ot ——
17. —— adē : ēre flēwē troûoûite t ——
18. —— as l deteo itada giney ——
19. —— pfēre : gēregri uzo ssddgo ——
20. —— e sē kēto ēfū uezo se tara et ——
21. —— tw*sotostte : arāare mēde oûg ——
22. —— otdadēitē : tēru eketēyu ātonē ei ——
23. ē ēyēpi tēru kērē tūgaeya koterssa ——
24. zayaēn mētē nēma ssgatyortofūz mar ——
25. trāmelēwē tēkēre : trēegale pe sē gor ——
26. oûroûoûle : mēeyē loûūma : pssēse : slana kēr ——
27. upreya zūgn : mone troûoûde tasi towade
28. mum*ēzi : trapale : mētonē opreyē ēeyēd
29. kewē mērēde nekāoûremez : itofetune or
30. dēsez fagssade : kewē mērēde : snekāoûre
31. mez : itofetune : ordēsez fagssade tow
32. orez ukēdēpi : prēde : eazate : zrewaēe :
33. nekēdēze : motafa : apitade : tētwēte :
34. laura : | mēmone troûoûde tofe : ofadra mēt
35. opēnē tēnune : wiza : preyēleya : llēdēpo :
36. gēzā : gwadasa : nēdse dadopē : sēwē pasw
37. ēse : ēsuaumla : | pēsyēpu : reyēte : elune :
38. —— wēzāme mēkēdewē : wēledēle : alwūpē :
39. —— kopttlē : mogssa : peyēlomlēz : itēml ——
40. *e : meaē : ledēwē : lweyu etrēnēfinē : |
41. gitawopē : kitrē : ēofepē : wosaffin
42. —— ēa traliyē : feyēdperē : alwagū āoûra
43. —— ēemē : molune puzpple : utrēwē : asg
44. —— ey . . . ralamo eagzzūtūpē : troûoûez r
45. trāmelē : zāpdē ēsēte gēregazi : ēpēoûze
46. trapalao : repssēde prllēle : kēdepē : itē
47. nu : ēprekē : zete : kalo : | *ēsūtineo : wipwū
48. o*fagu mlatefzzaeyēse : mēfēlrome : mrm
49. ē ertte lekē gostte kewe drala : kēpē n ——

50. zeoso krēde : kewē : pasao : | ortto : wēlelē
51. le kewē emēepe rēri : nēsttē : mlate : gwada
52. sez tofē mēde : leyēndfēz : nofagū : ppu ——
53. ze : kewē : rrogsse : roñoñe nēzes : | mēgēre
54. zi : ňoûru : sēwa : rēka*sa : sē wofēdre : oras*
55. mēnē ofēlūtē : repssē umomē ofēūie : ssē
56. gozrofuta ecā : fagssē : atlase : nē worune :
57. trāmefe : ute repssu tāpēfute : sēwē etē
58. sukunē : mūmrēkērorē mēdoto : lossaleya :
59. zunanomte : ūrofasaz | mēoûleyo : gopēleyo :
60. ewēleyēez : ddēlopēlez : neofē : logūto : sā
61. mute : kēlēemē witele ofēpllofe : mloūgūt
62. e : tonēfini : | mēfunu trameleya : kāmassde
63. sladepē wēlēleya onetupē : orto tmarūz
64. troñoñul*etenē kāmute ponū madēde ēsñnūm
65. la : | gomaē adē nuneyētema sūgūteyē oûzze
66. meruinē genase kēsēse ňoûre kēwora sēwū
67. nēse kētēdēse kēgogase gitafaza meaē t
68. edeyē witra elunēde : ētňoûre sitēma sūgā
69. gopdedo we oûlune aēde trēegale ketssēl
70. *āpre sofaraseyē zū edrasade : | nēez wētofez
71. trāmelē sokre gifawato tdtoaē : troñoûite.

The subject of the present inscription must be left in still greater obscurity than the last, as there are very few words in it which I can venture to translate. The stone has been so much defaced at the upper part that the first twenty-two lines are more or less imperfect, and it is impossible to know where many of the sentences are to be divided. I can therefore do no more than go through the whole, line by line, pointing out those words which can be translated.

In line 1, *ēdňoûru*; the latter part, *ňoûru*, is the name of *Ormuzd*; the first syllable *ēd* seems to be connected with the Sanscrit verb *ēda*, to *praise*; the whole forms a compound word, of which perhaps the end is lost in a decayed part of the stone.

The Persepolitan inscriptions, translated by M. Burnouf, begin with *Ormuzd is God*, and the inscription before us probably commenced with some similar declaration of religious belief.

Line 2, *mēde* is perhaps Mede, unless it is the conclusion of the preceding word; *sāwē*, the *shahs*. Line 6, *kōwē*, the *kings*. Line 10, *atte*, *self*, a word met with in many of the funereal inscriptions of Plate XXXVI. Line 11, *sē trāmelē*, *and the Tremilæ*. Line 17, *troūoūite*, the *Troes*. Line 18, *itada*: when this word occurred on the tombs it was translated *should bury*; here it would be more proper to interpret it *should place*, as there is nothing to connect it with a tomb, and the verb admits of either meaning. Line 21, *mēde*. The word *tēru* occurs both in lines 22 and 23; this is very close to the Zend preposition *taro*, which M. Burnouf (Comm., p. 85) translates *trans*, *beyond*, or *across*. Line 24, *mētē*, the demonstrative particle explained already. Line 25, *trāmelēwē*, the dative plural of *trāmele*; and line 27, *troūoūde*, the *Troes*: these two names continually occur near together, the one being rarely mentioned without the other following a line or two below. Line 28, *trapale* seems to be the town of *Trabala*, the Lycians using *p* where the Greeks wrote *b*.

At line 29 we have *kewē mērēde uekāoūremez itafetune ordesez fagssade*, and this paragraph is immediately repeated again, merely substituting *snekāoūremez* for *uekāoūremez*: therefore the opposition of the two sentences turns upon those two words. *Aoūremez* is the name of Ormuzd; it approaches very near to the original Zend name of *Ahora mazda*, yet has been slightly contracted; from which circumstance we may conclude that this inscription is more modern than the Zend-Avesta. The prefix *ui* is used in Zend to signify *opposition to*; thus *vidaevā* in the Zend-Avesta is *opposed to the Dews* or evil genii (Burnouf, Comm., p. 8); this explains *uekāoūremez* to be *opposed to* or *hostile to Ormuzd*. The other prefix *snek* may naturally be supposed to have the contrary meaning of *friendly to* or *follower of*: in the note to p. 518 of his Commentary, M. Bur-

nouf translates the Zend radical *khchnu, aborder quelqu'un en lui offrant des prières*, which supplies the exact translation we require of *snekăoûremez, worshiper of Ormuzd*: the change from *khch* in Zend to *s* in Lycian is the same which we have already met with in the word shah, which in Zend is *khchaya*, in Lycian *sa*. Thus in this sentence a distinction is established between the worshipers of Ormuzd and those of a contrary religion, but to what effect is still unknown: some of the remaining words have occurred before; *kewē*, the genitive plural of *kings*; *mērēde*, which may be divided into the particle *de*, and *mērē*, which has been considered the town of *Myra*, of which we have a coin, No. 10, with the legend *mērē*: separating from *fagssade* the same particle *de*, we have *fagssa*, a word of frequent occurrence on this monument, and which I have sometimes thought might be *Persia*. I am quite at a loss with the remainder of the sentence.

In line 34 is *troûoûde*, which we have met so often before, one of the derivatives from the *Troes*: in lines 36 and 37, *sēwe paswēse*, which applies to the *king of kings*; the second word differs in termination from what we met with before; the final *se* is only the enclitic *and*; but I have some hesitation about relying on the copy in this instance, as *paswē* is a form not met with again, and is here broken between the two lines, where mistakes are most likely to occur. If the version is correct I should suppose it to be the dative.

Mogssa, in line 39, resembles *mogissa*, which Stephanus Byzantinus (see Monogissa) states to mean a *stone* in the Carian language: this is the only one of the Carian words mentioned by the Greek authors which has a resemblance to any word in the Lycian inscriptions, yet the Carian and Lycian languages were probably closely related to each other.

Line 41, *gitawopē* is connected with the verb *gitawaeme*, to *order*, which has occurred in several forms. Line 42, *ăoûr* is doubtless imperfect for *ăoûru*, *Ormuzd*, one letter being lost at the end of the line. Line 43, *utrēwē*, the genitive or dative

plural of *utre, other*. For several lines the inscription is here very imperfect; in line 44 we may restore *troûoûez*, and at the beginning of line 45 *trămelē*, the *Troes* and the *Tremilæ*, constantly mentioned together. In the same line *gēregazi* is perhaps incorrectly copied for *gēaega*, the town of *Gagæ*, and in the next line *trapalao* is the genitive of *Trabala*.

In line 49 we find *kewē*, of the *kings*; and in the next *kēwē pasao*, of the *king of kings*. In the same line *wēled*, a *son*, connected with the Arabic *wuled*, which has that meaning; or, judging from line 38, this should be joined to the letters at the beginning of the next line, forming *wēledēle*, which must be derived from the same root. *Kewē* occurs again both in lines 51 and 53, and at 52 *mēde*, the *Mede*.

Line 54, *ăoûru*, Ormuzd; *sēwa*, *shah* or *governor*; 57, *trămele*, the *Termilæ*; *sēwē*, the *shahs*; 62, *trămeleya*, another case of *trămele*, resembling the locative of Zend, which frequently ends in *ya*; and in line 64 *troûoûl* etc., the *Troes*. In line 66 *ăoûre*, perhaps the dative of *ăoûru*, Ormuzd; which occurs again in line 68 preceded by *ēt*, forming apparently a compound word similar to *ēdăoûra*, which are found in the first line of this inscription; but as many of the stops are here lost, we cannot be sure of the separation of these words. In the last line we find again the Troes and the Tremilæ mentioned together in the words *trămelē* and *Troûoûite*.

From the little which has been made out on this side, we can just see that the inscription is in the name of Ormuzd, and therefore erected by the Persians: the frequent mention of the Medes and of the Tremilæ and Troes, and the distinction between the worshipers and opponents of Ormuzd, suits the supposition that we have before us a series of proclamations of the Persian governor addressed to the conquered Lycians, and pointing out the respective rights of the two people of different religions.

The orthography of this inscription is exactly similar to that on the north-east side: the letter + only occurs twice; ⌶

occurs single thirty-one times, being either vowel or consonant, and the same double three times, both being vowels; B is met with single forty-one times, sometimes as vowel and sometimes as consonant; and B B five times, both being vowels. From the use of these letters, I have judged this and the preceding inscription to be the most ancient of which we have copies.

South-west side of the Obelisk at Xanthus..

1. —— ē : sewē : to ——
2. —— ēwē : mērē : ē ——
3. —— fēze : ēwēd ——
4. —— eă : gērēăawē : ——
5. —— galəl : mēete : wa ——
6. —— gnawatosi tete ——
7. —— ima : sē eitunu : po ——
8. —— ē prinafū ămēet ——
9. —— ēri : sē etēletēle ——
10. —— ē kēwora : sēfē : magū : ē
11. —— mērēwe : sonēmanadi ——
12. —— ēsēyu chortta ēwuwu : gēr ——
13. *ofētē*e ēwuinu nēlēd ——
14. tokēdre tofētēre chūkor ——
15. ēeme arafuzeyē dēkoprd ——
16. eazeya prenaru tētom ——
17. troûoûus atlawē ēoûweyē ——
18. te itēpe : pofēyēwē : chor ——
19. itēfu : ēroûoûe nawēyēze : g ——
20. we sē itēfu tēchehe : ēroûey ——
21. sē itēfu mawūna : nēlēzē ——
22. ēyēte : mērazzu kom* : ēk ——
23. tēgesttē : unēwe : sē ginawe ——
24. we : arppagooû : tedēeme : gēre ——
25. prlēoû : gūwoû : gēzegnoû : towēs l ——
26. azeyēde : uinē gesttē faradra ——
27. muzwē tumē ofadrage : ēsē : sazzo

28. ētēwe : agūara : nēlēdē arina : mētēp
29. agū : trāmelē ezrēde : rēdēde : itērēz
30. wasē : tōpa : ēsrēde : wumēnēde : trāmelē
31. de : sē mēslēzēde : radrū tawēde : woûoûdae
32. *ē : sē mooûoûunēde : topēleyu : trāmeles
33. maconeme : rofēwēwi : topēleyu : sē
34. *wa masōneme : rofēwēwi se ereyu ām ——
35. oleya ēredē : ezrēde : zuāteya : ēoûwey
36. de : tagawa : nēlēdē : wūtawē : utae : tomenē
37. we : nēlēdē : wūtawē : sttare : maleyēwe : wūt
38. awē : gwane : ēsē : troûoûuneme : tēwēte : pēri sē
39. melasū itaū : pddu nēke : gwūseyē : ezrēde
40. ēoûweyēde : wūtawē : tlūi mēdē : nēlē : tarwe
41. dē : gērue : wasttē uēri : tlawi : ēroûoûēde : wu
42. tawē : mēdweyawē : ēsē gērue : tēwētē : pēri
43. se fagssērdeme : ute : zēwe : oûwūte : | o**ē
44. itēre : gērena tēri : wutawē ūka : ērēklē
45. se waglasa : parraste : ūwedē : oûre gitafū
46. tawe : ēsē : tawūna : tēri : eygnū : eyaē osrs
47. kue igna sē : wūtawē : mokalē : tēfuzē : sūma
48. te : troûoûētu : toragsse : zūgūna tēri : ēs
49. ē : womrūgū tēwūna tēri : wūtawē.

So much of the upper part of this inscription is lost, and the first thirty lines which remain are so imperfect, that we cannot hope to find out much of its contents, but must be satisfied with translating insulated words.

Line 2, *mērē*, the town of *Myra*, which we have met with already, and shall find mentioned again lower down. Line 5, *mēete*; in Anquetil's Zend vocabulary this word is translated *measure*. Line 8, *prinafū*; on several of the tombs this signified a *work* or *building*. Line 10, *magū* seems to be the singular of *Magi*, the well-known name of the Persian priests. Line 11, *mērēwe*, the genitive or dative of *mērē*, which occurred above. Line 13, *ēwinu*, the neuter of the preposition *this*, a word of

frequent occurrence on the tombs. Line 14, *tokēdre* seems to be related to the Arabic *tekadir* or *tekdir*, the *fates* or *divine decree*. Line 15, *arafazeyē* must be translated *tombs*; in the bilingual inscription, No. 3, *ērafazeya* is rendered in Greek by *μνημα*; the word occurs again on the tomb of Payara; the first letter should probably be altered in this place into *ē*. Line 17, *troúoúns*, the *Troes*: *atlawē ēoúweyē*, the dative for *themselves*, the plural of *atle ēoúwe*, which occurs in many of the funereal inscriptions of Plate XXXVI.

Line 19, *itēfu* is a verb of such constant occurrence, that it is very desirable that we should ascertain its meaning; besides this form, we have at line 47 *tēfuzē*, and at 18 *itēpe*, which belong to the same verb, unless the latter is incorrectly copied for *itēre*, which occurs elsewhere: the form of *itēfu* indicates that it is the third person of the imperfect of a verb taking an augment. The nearest word to it which I can find is the Sanscrit *ḍēpa*, to *shine*, a meaning which does not at all suit our inscription: in the same language there are the verbs *tēpa*, *dēpa*, and *dēbha*, all signifying to *direct* or *order*: this is a probable meaning to a word frequently repeated in a decree, and the different length of the first vowel is not a fatal obstacle to it.

At line 23, *unēwe sē ginawe*, the last of which words has required a little restoration; these are oblique cases of *une* and *gina*, both of which were before found in the funereal inscriptions, where they were translated *mother* and *wife*. In the next line we find *arppagooú tedēeme*, the *son of Harpagus*. Line 25, *towēs*; this occurred on some of the tombs, where it was translated *herein* or *therein*. The stops which should divide the sentences are all lost in the early part of this inscription, from the lines being incomplete; and we change from one subject to another without seeing that we have got into a fresh sentence, which was perhaps a decree issued at a different period from the preceding one.

From the number of names of towns and people which occur in the rest of the inscription, we seem to have changed into a

new decree about line 26 or 27, which continues to the stop in line 43. *Faradrā*, at line 26, seems related to the Zend adverb *fratara*, which is translated by M. Burnouf, p. 284, *antérior*. Line 27, *ēsē* has already been translated *if*. Line 28, *nēlēdē arinna*; in treating of the Lycian coins, *arinna* was identified with *Arna*, which Stephanus Byzantinus states to have been the ancient name of the city of Xanthus; the same name occurs in the eighth line of the Greek inscription on this monument: *nēlēdē* may be translated *people*; in Zend, *nēresch* is a *man*; that language has no *l*, the liquid *r* taking the place of both *l* and *r* in other languages. Consequently *nēlēdē arinna* may be translated *the people of Xanthus*. The *Tremilæ* are named in the two following lines; in the latter in connection with the Medes, *trīmelēde sē mēdēzēde*, and again in line 32. *Eoŭweyē*, at line 35, is the dative plural of *his* or *their*, a word which has occurred frequently. Line 36, *tagnea* may perhaps be connected with *dagyu*, the Zend for *province* (Burnouf, p. 374); the next word, *nēlēdē*, has just been translated *people*: this is repeated again in line 37, preceded by *tomenēwe*, the dative plural of *inhabitant*.

In line 38 we have *ēsē troŭoŭuneme tēwēte pēri sē melasū*; and below, at line 42, *ēsē gērue tēwēte pēri sē fagssērdeme*: there are many instances of this sort of repetition which marks an opposition of subject, which is striking, even though we do not understand to what it relates, and which will prove of great help when the study is further advanced. Of these words we know from the coins that *troŭoŭuneme* and *fagssērdeme* are the names of towns, and they have been identified with Tlos and Pedassa. The construction points out that *melasū* and *gērue* must also be towns: I cannot find the former mentioned by the geographers, but its termination in *asu* answers to the *assos*, in which the Greek names of the Lycian and Carian towns constantly end, and of which the coin No. 26, gave us an example in *pttarazu* for Patara: the other, *gērue*, occurs in Ptolemy's list of Lycian towns, as Καρυα or *Carya*. Of the other words, *ēsē*

has hitherto been translated *if*, which is hardly applicable here; *tēwēte* is probably a pronominal adverb; *pēri*, which I have restored from *peai* in the original copy, is a preposition of place, in opposition with *tēri* in the following sentence. The Zend prepositions answering to these will be found in M. Burnouf's Commentary, p. 85: *pēri* signifies *before*, or *on this side of*; and *tēri*, *beyond*. This part of the inscription seems, from the abundance of names of towns accompanied by locative prepositions, to refer to the boundaries of the townships, or some such local matters. Of the remaining words we know *čoúweyēde*, the plural of *their*; *mēdē*, the *Medes*; and *nēlē*, a *man*, or *men*. *Uēri*, in line 41, seems related to the Zend *vira*, and the Latin *vir*, a *man*; and in *ute* we have to choose between the Zend *uta*, *or*, and *aiti*, *voilà* (Comm., p. 65 of the Introduction).

In the last sentence the construction depends upon *tēri*, *beyond*, which is repeated four times; and several towns may be expected to be named: in line 44 *ēreklē* is *Heraclea*; in the next line *waglaza* may be *Bargasa*, a town in Caria mentioned by Stephanus Byzantinus. The only name I can detect besides these two is *troúoúētu*, which relates to the *Troes*; but as the last lines are very imperfectly copied, there may be others undiscovered.

The few words thus translated are not sufficient to show the subject of this inscription: in the upper part are some expressions which suit a tomb, but they are not confirmed by the latter part of the inscription, nor by those on the other sides of the stone. It is remarkable that Ormuzd is not once named, nor have we met with the phrase *king of kings*; yet the mention of the *Medes*, and of the *son of Harpagus*, show that this was inscribed while Lycia was still under the Persian government.

There is a great difference between this inscription and the last two which have been examined, in the less frequent use of the letter B and the constant repetition of +, which has partially taken the place of B. The +, which was only used once or twice on the north-east and north-west sides of the monu-

ment, is here used fifty-six times, and the B only occurs singly twenty-two times, being less than half of the number there met with; yet the former letter never occurs doubled, while B B is found here as often as before, and when thus doubled is used as a vowel, while the single B may here be always rendered by our *w*. It seems, therefore, that it is only for some particular purposes that the B has been changed for another letter; not that the two characters are equivalent to one another. The character X is used nearly the same as elsewhere. The letter X, which we did not meet with before, is found here four times; none of the words in which it occurs enable us to fix its value, which we shall find better determined in the next inscription, where it is more common.

South-east side of the Obelisk at Xanthus.

1. — ya : proleya : ute pddu —
2. — ya : sēyē sttēwēlerona —
3. — ē : tūmadē : tūgazeyē mē it —
4. — u : sē uēuēre sē rezûna : tey —
5. — ēm roûoûul*de gwewi : wi —
6. — ămēde : arosi : kwewo : to —
7. — z se*rewo gūkwe : kwewo —
8. — ifērē fētēwe komēzeya —
9. — ēde pzzfdēzē*alămawe : to —
10. — ottwades ēroûoûe : sēt : efe —
11. — ēe ēztēoûr*awaz troûoûaneme —
12. — ē teri watu **ēwtūaûe ow —
13. — lūzea ēoûe : oûlau ēsē trn —
14. — rēgwawi : sēnagorawe p —
15. — oûoûe : trosi : sē toworēwe : st —
16. — d : troûoûe : uinēe : mechrapata : e
17. — ri : gafalēs : ddēreyē meyē : s —
18. — atē arofūteyēse : sttrat —
19. — ēyētē : mēn ēroûoûēde towēe
20. — reyûnū : sēeyē monē etrpo —

21. ——— ēyē sēoû : sē teloma : wutrewēr ——
22. ——— yūna : treyē rukeyē zunago
23. ——— tētreyē rugēruwē : wite : t ——
24. ——— ērēwe : weyūnagū : fēlēdeyē ——
25. —— a : mērē : ētēwē sē tēfune : peyē ——
26. —— esi : eyūnesi : spoartaze : atūna ——
27. —— ūchortū : sēina : weyu : sē towēde ——
28. —— ade : sēina weyēde ddēurāmesz : po ——
29. —— ri*a : penanē : tlafa : fēdrē pawa
30. —— tadde : plāmadde : sēoû : ēwinēde pd ——
31. —— ēde : sērssē ** zeyēde : sē okēweze ——
32. —— ēpartae sē **e : trofēpē eyade : uēp ——
33. —— sē orowle*ēde : pre : troûoûas : wēges
34. —— lēzēze : ēroûoûe : sttūte : tēle : wēwi
35. —— lēyē sē : tēri ponērēwē : sēwē pewē rē
36. —— ūasppēa sēte : gitafatu tofe : sēwē
37. —— u arafazeya : itēfu nēmo : sēgchchū |
38. —— rēdēfu ēmo : komēzēetete : mērafaz
39. —— ēdē : tomenēwe mlatraza : tegzzede
40. —— awūmūte : warazotate : tēze arofūt
41. —— tokedre : sē : ētepoeue : sē : orowle
42. —— dē : goaze*ē : sē tokēdre atrū tēwlo
43. —— ē echrāmū : pewe kēte : gorzazu komēz
44. —— snē : owazata : faeū : tresine : sē itēpd
45. —— zappodēenē arafazeyē : ēoûweyē : kwe
46. —— nēemu adrodē : mawûe : sēddē : awatawa
47. —— nuoûlawe : ēwētēwe : sē mawūna : ēwētē
48. —— arina tomenēte : kērchwe : gūkwe : ēroē
49. —— tēmluse tūma : sē fēnēpē : asttē trā
50. —— e**sēddē tofētu : komēzeya : uērē uērē
51. troûoûite : pddū tawe : winū kwa : ūssune : ēoû
52. ee : tawawaza : komēzezeya : padretawe : ari
53. na tomenēweya : komēzeya gūkweya komē
54. zeya sē tokēdre : kērchche : adē orowle iu ——
55. wūe awē towēwe : prinēze : sē leoûwēzē ēoûw

56. eyē : sē dēeuzggaza : sē itofērewa : adē se
57. gehkūna : ūoťawa : sē ginawa sē gitafate
58. azzalūe itareyēo sēwe : sē : ērtagsse
59. —— rzawē : chredē : wrewa : trāmele sēsēte : t
60. —— che fēewe : adēmu : lechehfe oūlūme setune : ew
61. —— eya *garūe* zēose itēfu : | gitafate swer
62. —— edē : gitafate : topēdēzeyē sē itēfu sog
63. —— enay ntrēdēyeē : gitafate : ēspprowt.

The inscription on the south-east side of the obelisk is much more imperfect than any of the three others: besides wanting the upper part, and having been worn off the stone at both ends of many of the lines, the part which remains is full of inaccuracies. There are fewer known words than usual, and also there are many combinations of letters which have not been met with before; but it is uncertain whether we must attribute these to the errors of the copy or to further changes in the language: the frequent repetition of the character I must arise from the former cause; but it is not often that these errors can be corrected, owing to the number of inaccuracies, which prevent many words from being recognized. The consequence is, that we cannot yet obtain any insight into the subject of the inscription, but must be content with translating a few detached words.

The first word of any importance which we have met before is in line 11, *troūoūneme*, the town of *Tlos*: the fragment at the top of the inscription was joined to the rest, judging from the form of the fracture, before any attempts were made to decipher the letters; and this word proves that on this side the union has been made correctly. Line 12, *tēri*, *beyond*. In line 14, the word *sēnagorawe* has a strong resemblance to the *Xenagorœ*, small islands on the coast of Lycia; yet in the state in which we have the inscription at present we can only rely upon such words as are well known from other sources. At line 16, *troūoūe* refers in some way to the *Troes*.

For many lines together there is hardly a word which has yet been made out: at line 20 is *sēeyē*, which was translated *whoever* or *any one* in several of the funereal inscriptions. Line 25, *mērē*, the town of *Myra*. Line 25, *pre troūoūas*; the latter word is the name of the *Troes*, the former may be the preposition *before*. Here we again meet some words with which we are already acquainted; in line 35, *tēri*, the preposition *beyond*, followed by *ponērēwē*, which the alteration of a single letter would change into *pōnērēwē*, from *pēnēra*, which has been supposed to be the town of *Pinara*: *sēwē*, the dative plural of *shah*, which is repeated in the next line: *gitafatu*, the middle aorist of the verb *gitawaenu*, to *order* or *write*. Line 37, *arafazeya*, which has been translated *tomb* or *monument*: *itēfu*, probably he *ordered*: *nēmo* seems the same as the Zend *nemo*, meaning *adoration* (Burnouf, Comm., p. 446). These words can hardly be all correctly translated, since they seem to have no bearing upon one another.

The next sentence begins at the thirty-eighth line; it is not more intelligible than the preceding. In line 39, *tomenēwe* is the dative plural of *tomene*, *dwelling in*, or *inhabitant*. Line 41 and 42, *tokēdre*, which occurred before, was conjectured to be a *decree*. Line 45, *arafazeyē ēoūweyē* is *their tombs*. Line 46, *awatawa*, and in the next line *ēwēlēwe*, are two words related to one another, and probably pronouns connected with the Zend *ah*, *aha*, *that*, from which is formed *aētahé*, *of that* (Burn. Comm., p. 496 note): the character which I have rendered *w* is also connected with the Zend *h*, and the words before us might perhaps be written *ahataha* and *ēhēlēhe*, which would bring them close to the Zend pronoun: this is another instance of the manner in which the declension affects every syllable of the Lycian pronouns, to which some curious analogies might be shown in the pronouns of the other Indo-Germanic languages.

In line 48 we find again *arinu tomenēte*, the *inhabitants of Xanthus*: in line 50, *nērē nērē*, a repetition of the word *men*, probably to express a great number: repetitions of this kind

are common in Zend when great emphasis is required. Line 51, *troûoûite*, the *Troes*: the word ending line 49, and partially lost at the beginning of line 50, was apparently the *Tremile*. Line 51, *eoûwe*, *his* or *their*. Lines 52 and 53, *arina tomenēweya*, the *inhabitants of Xanthus*, who were mentioned just before; but in the declension of the word *tomenēweya* is the peculiarity, that *ya*, the termination peculiar to another case, is added to a word already in the genitive or dative. M. Burnouf has pointed out a somewhat similar construction in the dialect of the arrow-headed inscriptions at Persepolis (Mémoire, p. 61), "à peu près comme si on disoit en latin *dominusum* au lieu *de dominum*." Line 54, *tokēdre*, a *decree*, is followed by *kērchche*, a word which has so much resemblance to the Persepolitan form of Xerxes, *khchârchâ*, that if it were accompanied in this passage by any royal titles, it might be taken for that monarch; but as that is not the case, the resemblance may be accidental. Line 55, *prinēze*, the participle *loved*, a word found on several of the tombs.

The word *dēeusggaza*, in line 56, connects the inscription with the religious opinions of the early Persians. The Zend-Avesta is full of threatenings against those who worship the Dews or Devas, evil spirits created by Ahriman to lead mankind astray. The word designating these worshipers is *daêvayâzo* (Burn. Comm., p. 401, note); the Lycian word requires correction in the sixth or seventh letter, but as it does not occur again it must be left as it is for the present.

In the rest of the inscription there are some words which have already been explained: in line 57, *ginawa*, from *gina*, a *wife*, and *gitafate*, he *orders*, which is repeated several times lower down: line 58, *sēuē*, the *shahs*; 59, the *Termile*; 61 and 62, *itēfu*, supposed to be he *ordered*. The last line is very imperfect.

The orthography of this inscription is nearly the same as that of the south-west side of the monument, the letter ✠ having very much taken the place of B; which latter character may

always be read like our *w*, except where it is doubled, when it is clearly a long vowel. There are here very few words in which ✚ might not be rendered *h*, as it usually stands between two vowels, in which this inscription differs from many of the others. These changes in the use of the letters add very much to the difficulty of the present inquiry. The letter ☾ is of more common occurrence here than in any other inscription; it is once confounded with ⌶, which arises, without doubt, from the resemblance of the two letters; but there are words in which it takes the place of K, so that it may safely be considered as equivalent to the Greek *chi*: to mark its occurrence it has been always printed *ch*, although *k* might have been adopted for it without much impropriety.

P.S. While the preceding remarks were in the press, it has occurred to me, that some of the difficulties connected with the Lycian alphabet might be got rid of by considering both ▼ and W, and all their varieties of form, as the short *u*; B as a long or double *o*; ✚ as *ow*; and ⌶ and its varieties as a long or double *u*: each of the last three being also used as a consonant or semivowel nearly similar to our *w*. This change would still leave many anomalies, which can only be explained by supposing the language to have altered during the period of the inscriptions before us; but it has the advantage of establishing a distinction between the three letters, which are very nearly allied without being exactly identical.

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[*Such words as are not found in the London edition of Stephanus, Thes. Ling. Græc., are printed in capital letters.*]

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ERRATA.

Page 87, *line* 2, *for* sembance *read* semblance.
Page 212, *line* 7, *for* Promontarium *read* Promontorium.
Page 235, *line* 12, *for* Cyprus *read* Cypres.
Page 347, *line* 5, *for* Julia *read* Flavia.
Page 350, *line* 3, *for* ρησιν *read* ρησεις.
Page 355, No. 56, *line* 4, *for* δια δοχων *read* διαδοχων.
Page 361, *line* last, *for* Page 45 *read* Page 37.
Page 364, No. 87, *line* 12, *for* καισαρος *read* Καισαρος.
Page 389, No. 129, *line* 4, *for* εκ της *read* ἑκτης.
In the heading to the Inscriptions, facing *page* 368, *for* temple *read* council-hall.

PRINTED BY RICHARD AND JOHN E. TAYLOR,
RED LION COURT, FLEET STREET.

00083436

gitized with financial assistance from
Government of Maharashtra
on 09 March, 2016